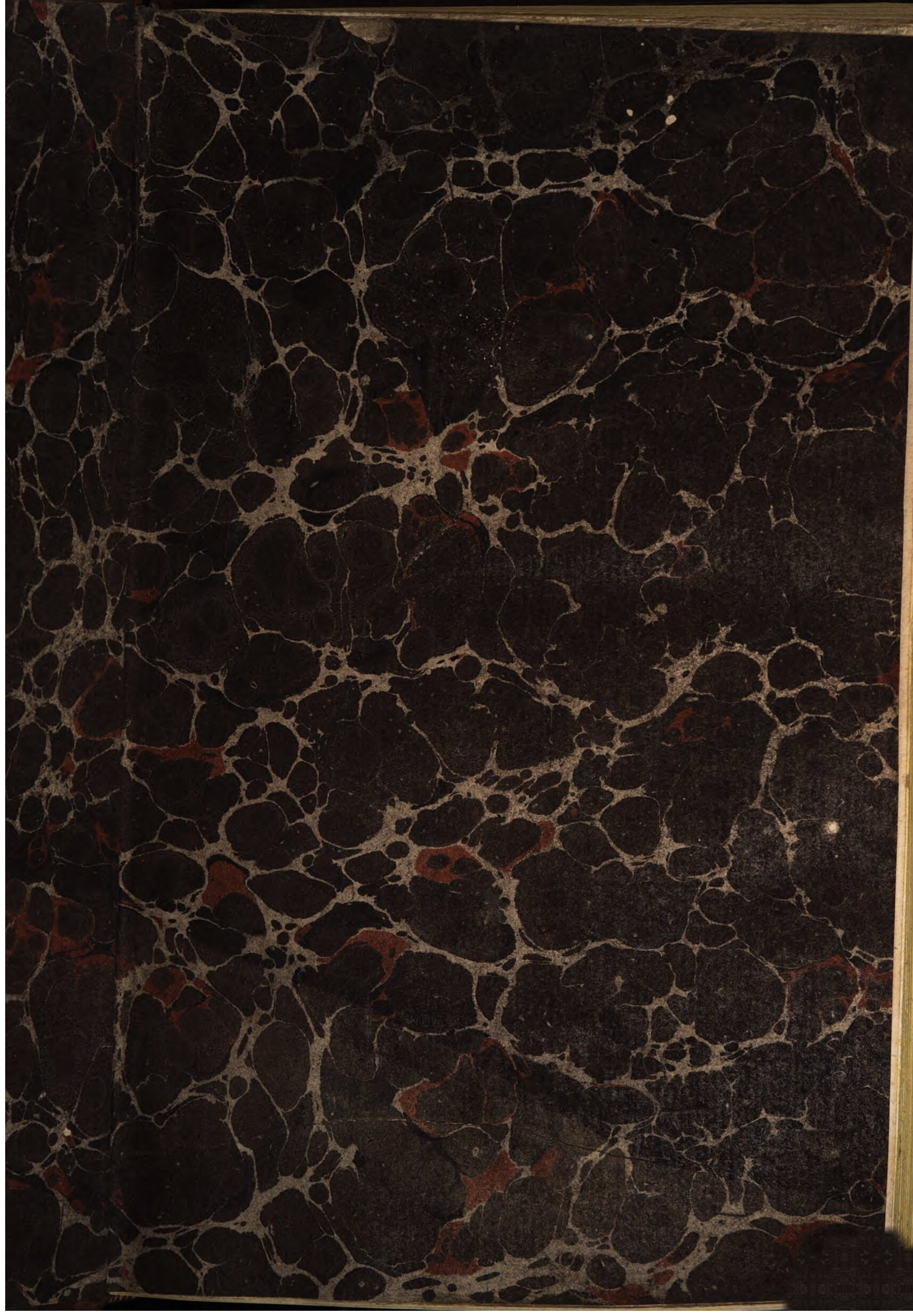








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M E M O I R S

OF THE COURT OF

A U G U S T U S.

By THOMAS BLACKWELL, J. U. D.

PRINCIPAL OF MARISCHAL - COLLEGE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

Vol. I.

*Quæ enim tanta Gravitas ? quæ tanta Constantia ;
Magnitudo Animi, Probitas, Fides ; quæ tam excellens
in omni genere VIRTUS in ullis fuit, ut sint cum
Majoribus nostris comparanda ?* CICERO.

B A S I L :

Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.

MDCCXCIV.

M. F. O. R. 2

OF THE COURT OF

A. U. C. U. S. T. U. S.

BY THOMAS BLACKWELL, LL.D.

PRINCIPAL OF MARSHALLS' COLLEGE IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

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München

Que enim sunt Germani? et quid
Magna? et quid? et quid? et quid?
in omni parte virtus in omni parte
Majorum et minorum

B A S I L

Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNAISEN

M D C C X C V

THE
AUTHORS
LIFE*.

THOMAS BLACKWELL was born on the 4th. of August , 1701 , in the city of *Aberdeen*. His father the Rev. M. THOMAS BLACKWELL , was then one of the Ministers of that place. His mother's name was JOHNSTON, of a good family near *Glasgow*, and sister to Dr. JOHNSTON, who was many years professor of medicine in the university of *Glasgow*. Our author received his grammatical education at the Grammar-school of *Aberdeen* , studied Greek and Philosophy in the Marischal-college there, and took the degree of Master of Arts in 1718; which, as he was at that time only seventeen years of age, must be regarded as a considerable testimony of

* From the BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA.

his early proficiency in literature. A farther proof of it was his being presented, on the 28th of November 1723, by his Majesty, King George the First, to the Professorship of Greek, in the college in which he had been educated. He was admitted into this office, on the 13th of December, in the same year; and from thenceforward continued to teach the Greek language with great applause. His knowledge of that language was accurate and extensive, and his manner of communicating it perspicuous and engaging. He had a dignity of address which commanded the attention of the students, a steadiness in exacting the prescribed exercises which enforced application, and an enthusiasm for the beauties of the ancients, and utility of classical learning, which excited an ardor of study, and contributed much to diffuse a spirit for Grecian erudition far superior to what had taken place before he was called to the Professorship. Together with his lessons on the Greek tongue, he gave, likewise, lessons on some of the Latin classics, chiefly with a view to infuse a relish for their beauties. To his zeal and diligence in discharging the duties of his station, it is probable that the world is, in part, indebted for such men as CAMPBELL, GERARD, REID, BEATTIE, DUNCAN, and the FORDYCES, who have appeared with so much eminence in the Republic of Letters. When the celebrated Dr. BERKELEY was engaged in the scheme of establishing an American university in the *Summer-Islands*. Mr. BLACKWELL was in treaty with him for going

out as one of his young professors; but the negotiation did not take effect. In 1735, was published, at *London* in octavo, without the name of the bookseller, and without his own name, our author's *Inquiry into the Life and Writings of HOMER*; a work the great ingenuity and learning of which will be acknowledged by all who have perused it. It was embellished with plates designed by *Gravelot*, and executed by different engravers. This we apprehend to be the best esteemed, and it is in our opinion, the most valuable of Mr. BLACKWELL's performances. The second edition appeared in 1736, and not long after he published "*Proofs of the Inquiry into HOMER'S Life and Writings, translated into English: being a key to the Inquiry; with a curious Frontispiece.*" This was a translation of the numerous Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French notes which had been subjoined to the original work. In 1748, came out in *London*, "*Letters concerning Mythology,*" in a large octavo, but without the bookseller's name, though we believe, Mr. ANDREW, MILLAR, of the *Strand*, was the publisher of it, as Mr. JAMES OSWALD, of the *Poultry*, had been of the *Inquiry into the Life of HOMER*. On the seventh of October, in the same year, our author was appointed, by his late Majesty, King George the Second, to be principal of the *Marischal* college in *Aberdeen*, and was admitted to the office, on the ninth of November following. He continued also Professor of Greek till his death. He is the only Layman who had ever been appointed Principal

of that College, since the patronage came to the crown, by the forfeiture of the *Marischal*-family, in 1716, all the other Principals having been Ministers of the established Church of Scotland. When ROBERT and ANDREW FOULIS, printers at *Glasgow*, intended to publish an edition of PLATO, Mr. BLACKWELL proposed to furnish them with several critical notes for it, together with an account of PLATO'S Life and Philosophy: but the printers not acceding to the terms which he demanded for this assistance, he promised by an advertisement in 1751, himself to give an edition of PLATO. His design, however, was not carried into execution; nor did it appear, from any thing found among his papers after his death, that he had made any considerable progress in the undertaking. On the third of March 1752, he took the degree of Doctor of Laws. In the following year appeared the first volume of his "*Memoirs of the Court of AUGUSTUS*," in quarto. The second volume came out in 1755; and the third which was posthumous, and left incomplete by the author, was fitted for the press by JOHN MILLS, Esq; and published in 1764. At the same time was published the third edition of the two former volumes. This is a proof of the good reception the work met with from the public; though it must be acknowledged that the parade with which it is written, and the peculiarity of its language, exposed it to some severity of censure. It cannot be denied that there is a considerable degree of affectation in Dr. BLACKWELL'S style and manner

of composition: and, unhappily, this affectation increased in him as he advanced in years. His *Inquiry into the Life of HOMER* was not free from it. It was still more discernible in his *Letters concerning Mythology*; and was most of all apparent in his *Memoirs of the Court of AUGUSTUS*. We perceive in his various productions a mixture of pedantry: but it is not the sober dull pedantry of the merely recluse scholar. In Dr. BLACKWELL it assumes a higher form. Together with the display of his erudition, he is ambitious of talking like a man who is not a little acquainted with the world. He is often speaking of life and action, of men and manners; and aims at writing with the freedom and politeness of one who has been much conversant with the public. But in this he is unsuccessful: for, though he was not destitute of genius, or fancy, and had a high relish for the beauties of ancient authors, he never attained that simplicity of taste, which leads to the true ease and elegance of composition. It is probable, also, that, like many others, at that time, he might be seduced by an injudicious imitation of lord SHAFTESBURY; a writer whose faults have been more easily attainable than his excellencies.

Soon after Dr. BLACKWELL became Principal of his college, he married BARBARA BLACK, the daughter of a merchant of *Aberdeen*, by whom he had no children, and who is still living. Several years before his death, his health began to decline; so that he was obliged to employ an assistant for teaching his Greek class. His disorder was of the

consumptive kind, and it was thought to be increased by the excess of abstemiousness which he imposed upon himself; and, in which, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his physicians, he obstinately persisted, from an opinion of his own knowledge of his constitution, and of what he found by experience to suit it best. His disease increasing, he was advised to travel; and accordingly, in February, 1757, he set out from *Aberdeen*, with that purpose. However he was able to go no farther than *Edinburgh*, in which city he died, on the eighth of March following, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Dr. BLACKWELL enjoyed an equable flow of temper, in which his intimate friends scarcely ever observed any variation. This he maintained during his whole illness. The day before he set out from *Aberdeen*, he desired to meet with all the Professors of the college, and spent two hours with them with his usual vivacity. In *Edinburgh* he was visited at his own desire, by Dr. WALLACE, one of the Ministers of that city, whose ingenuity and learning are well known. Dr. BLACKWELL, on the very day in which he died, wrote letters to several of his friends, and took leave of them with the greatest cheerfulness. In the April following our author's decease, it being Dr. GERARD'S business, as (at that time) Professor of moral philosophy and logic in the *Marischal*-college, to preside at conferring the degree of Master of Arts on those whose standing entitled them to it, the Doctor took that occasion

to pronounce publicly, on the late Principal, such an encomium as his literature deserved. It was a fault in Dr. BLACKWELL, that he too much assumed the appearance of universal knowledge; the consequence of which was that he sometimes laid himself open, by entering on subjects of philosophy and mathematics, without a sufficient acquaintance with them. With all the ancient, and with most of the modern languages, he was really acquainted; and his reading in the line of history and the belles-lettres, was very extensive. He had a ready and lively manner of introducing his knowledge of this kind, which made his conversation both instructive and entertaining; and it was rendered still more so by being accompanied with great good humor, and an entire command of his passions, even when he was provoked. Though he had something of the stiffness of the recluse, he joined with it much of the confidence and good breeding that are found in men who converse much in the world. His life was private and studious: he did not wholly decline mixed companies, though it was but seldom that he came into them; and at home he chose only the conversation of the learned, or that of persons of superior rank or fortune. At *London* he was known to several men of eminence. The late Duke of NEWCASTLE, and Mr. HENRY PELHAM, were his patrons, and procured for him the office of Principal of the *Marischal*-college. It is confidently said that they had intended him an establishment at *Cambridge*, and that the Professorship of modern

history was fixed upon for him, if he had not died a short time before it became vacant. A man of Dr. BLACKWELL'S abilities and reputation could not fail of having some valuable literary connexions and correspondents; among whom he had the honor of numbering the late celebrated Dr. MEAD, and the no less celebrated Dr. WARBURTON, the present bishop of Gloucester.

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ΕΙΣ ΡΩΜΗΝ;

ΗΡΙΝΝΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΕΣΒΙΑΣ

ΩΔΗ.

ΧΑΪΡΕ' μοι ΡΩΜΑ, θυγάτερ Ἀρηῃ,
Χρυσέομιλρε, δαΐφρων ἄνασσα,
Σεμνὸν ἀναίεις ἐπιγᾶς Ὀλυμπον
αἰὲν ἄθραυσον.

ΣΟΙ' μόνα πρέσβισα δέδωκε μοῖρα
κῦδ' ἀρρήκτας βασιλήϊον ἀρχᾶς,
Ὀφρα κοιρανῆϊον ἔχοισα κράτ',
Ἀγεμοιεύης.

ΣΑ' δ' ὑπὸ ζεύγλα κρατερῶν λεπάδων
Στέρνα γαίας καὶ πολιᾶς θαλάσσης
Σφίγγεται· ΣΥ' δ' ἀσφαλέως κυβερνᾷς
Ἀρεα λαῶν.

ΠΑΝΤΑ δὲ σφάλλων εἰ μέγιστ' αἰὼν,
καὶ μελαπλάσσω βίον ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως,
Σοὶ μόνα πλησίτιον οὐρον ἀρχᾶς
οὐ μελαβάλλει.

Ἦ γάρ ἐκ πάντων ΣΥ' μόνα κραλίστους
Ἄνδρας αἰχματὰς μεγάλως λοχεύεις,
Ἐυσαχυν δάμαρ' ὅπως ἀνείσα
καρπὸν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν.

ON ROME,

An ODE by ERINNA of LESBOS.

*MARS's Daughter, warlike ROME,
Laurell'd Queen! whose mighty Sway
Men on earth, like Heaven's Doom
Uncontrolable, obey.*

*Hoary Fate to THEE alone
Has assign'd th' imperial Throne.
That supreme, o'er every Land,
THOU may'st exercise Command.*

*THY adamantine-linked Chain
Begirds the Earth, surrounds the Main;
And distant Tribes in every Town
THY unshaken Empire own.*

*Rolling TIME that shifts the Scenes
Of human Life, THY Pow'r maintains,
And breathes into THY spreading Sail,
Of Sov'reignty a constant Gale.*

*Chief of Nations THOU bring'st forth
Men of mighty martial Worth,
And Lords of Earth in THEE are born
Thick, as CERES yields her Corn.*

To

ON ROME,

An ODE by FRANCIS LEECH.

MARS! DANGER! DANGER!
Lambeth's Queen! whose might
Thou art, like Heaven's power,
Uncontrollable, easy.

Howe late to thee alone
This offering is presented,
Thou hast, O ever I and
Thou art, O ever I and

Thy obedient hand
Beneath the Earth, beneath the Sea,
And all the Tribes in every Town
Thy obedient hand

Rolling Time that lifts the Sea
Of human life, thy power
And breathes into thy power
Of Sovereign's a constant

Chief of Nations thou bring'st forth
Thou of mighty and noble
And Lords of Earth in their own
Thou, O Great, yields her

TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE
HENRY PELHAM, Esqr.
&c. &c. &c.

SIR,

IT is now scarce a Question among the wiser part of Mankind, whether Knowledge acquired by Books, or by Experience in Business, be the preferable Acquisition. At the same time the unprejudiced readily allow, that neither Species while separate can reach Perfection, or singly rise to its full Value in Life; but each must remain lame, until Converse with *Books* combine with Knowledge of *Men*, and, like *Art* and *Genius* in Poetry, mutually correct the Faults and supply the Defects of one another.

But the Conjunction is pretty rare: Men of Theory and Project are too apt to despise the Drudges of Business—and the active and laborious often condemn Books and Speculation: The learned

World feels the ill Consequences, and is either loaded with crude practical Productions, or sated with Volumes of mere Literature.

I am led to these Reflections by frequently wondering how it hath happened, that a Court so celebrated as that of Augustus, and adorned with so many Men of distinguished Merit, should yet be but little known to Posterity?—We generally take up a high Opinion of its Grandeur and good Taste, upon the testimony, I think, of some of the Poets who lived at that time; but have very imperfect Accounts either of the Persons who made the best Figure in it, or of the many Accidents that must have fallen out in a long Reign of four-and-forty years.

This is the more strange, as there never was an Age more productive of Poets, Historians, Memoir-writers, and indeed Writers of all kinds, than from the end of the civil Wars, to the middle of the Reign of *Tiberius*; when the Moroseness and Cruelty of that Prince made it dangerous to write or speak of public matters. But the Humor was so prevalent under Augustus, that most of the People in Power took pleasure in recording *the chief Circumstances of their own Lives*, and *transmitting* them to Posterity. The Prince himself led the Way; and his Example was so powerful, that it was looked upon as a very unhappy Defect in any great Man, if he could not speak and *write*, with the same Justness and Dignity he could *act*: And little less was the Emulation among the first Men of the Age upon that Point, than upon the other.

But of all their Writings, not one single piece of the *historical* or *memoir-kind* hath escaped the stroke of devouring Time.—The numerous Works of Augustus¹, his Reply to *Brutus's* Cato; his *Advices* to study Philosophy, his *Memorial* of the life of his loved *Drusus*, and *Memoirs* of his own Life in thirteen Books, have all perished: the elegant *Memoirs* of his Favorite *Mecenas*, the high-spirited *Pollio's* Writings, the ingenuous and brave *Agrippa's* and the wanton *Dellius's*, have every one undergone the same Fate. We are even deprived of that latter Part of *Livy* the Historian's great Work, which deduced the *Roman* Story to the Reign of Augustus, and contained an account of the Wars and public Acts, if not the private Transactions of his Court. — The Loss of such Writings is doubly to be regretted, both because many of their great Authors being themselves in the Secret of Affairs, treated of what they perfectly knew; and, that the Space of Years in which Augustus lived, is the Period of all the *Roman* Empire, that best deserves to be known.

It was the Age that produced the greatest Men in these Capacities, in which the best and worthiest of Mankind chiefly strive to excel, Letters, Arts, and Arms: It was the Age that produced the greatest Revolutions of Fortune in the shortest Time: and how uneasy soever it may have been

¹ Rescripta Bruto de *Catone*: Hortationes ad Philosophiam: Memoria Vitæ *Drusi*: Cæs. Augusti de *Vita sua*, Libri xiii.

to live in that tempestuous Season, yet I am persuaded that it is now a more agreeable Spectacle to look back, and review the Struggles of States in a Field where Fortune had full play, than to turn over the dull Annals of a drowsy eastern Monarchy for Ages together. There you have little else than the *Name* of one who succeeded his Father in his Throne and Seraglio; who lived so many Years, begat so many Children, and ordered his Mutes to strangle so many of his Brothers, Friends, and Ministers: While in the Contentions of free civilized Nations, where Men are not over-awed and grown dastardly, we meet with a beautiful Variety of Incidents, and have the best Opportunities of learning *what Men really are*. Such Periods are full of great Turns of Affairs; they abound with sudden Dangers and surprising Joys, which never fail to rouse the lurking Passions, and display the real Character of the Man without Disguise or Coloring: A View the most pleasant and instructive that Nature affords!

It will be readily allowed by such as are acquainted with the Rise and Progress of this brave People, that few Terms of Years have produced more of these busy Scenes, than the *Period* I have named; which for that reason, if but truly represented, seems to bid fair to give us the noblest Entertainment we can receive from History. The first Part of it presents us with a dismal Prospect, full of all the Horrors of a merciless War, and a cruel Tyranny: Nothing but wild Disorder and Confusion in the State, violent seizing of Men's

Properties, and inhuman Barbarities exercised upon their Persons and Families. But in the latter, the Scene changes to such a Flow of public Prosperity and private Happiness, as Peace and good Order must necessarily bestow upon a governing People.

It is not therefore my Design in these Memoirs, to write a Book of *Antiquities*, — to correct an Error in the *Fasti*, — settle a dubious Consul, or determine the precise Day of a Battle: — their Aim is higher, and of other Consequence. I propose, as a Caution to my high-prized Country, whose Constitution is my Admiration, and whose Service would be my Pride, *To show by what Steps a brave and free People, from being the Conquerors of the western World, came first to forfeit their Liberties, and, by degrees, sink into Slavery, and become the meanest of Mankind.* — Not that I pretend to give a full and formal History of the State of the Roman Empire under Augustus, or to trace all the political Steps of his Government: But along with this my first and chief Intention, I would endeavour to repair some small Part of the unhappily lost Memoirs of the great Men above mentioned; — to give some account of the Figure they made, and the Offices they held, in that polite Court; to describe the Humor and Manner of Life of the principal Persons in it; to point out their several *Pleasures*, and paint their *Caprices* as far as we know them; and in short, to endeavour to make an *Acquaintance* with them, and, were it possible, an *Intimacy*.

This, besides the Pleasure of knowing *such*

Characters , has a very happy Circumstance attending it , as it enables us to judge with Certainty of the capital Productions of the *Roman* Genius , and of the Conduct of their most admired Writers: How delightful must it be , to observe the Address of such Men as *Virgil* and *Horace* , *Tibullus* and *Ovid* , in adjusting their Compliments to the various *Tempers* of their great Friends ? — both in speaking of the Things most agreeable to them , and in talking to each of them *in his own Way*. Nor is *Great Britain* more deservedly famed for the Variety of different *Tempers* and whimsical *Humors* of her Sons , than *Rome* was before she submitted to a Master ; or rather , before that Master exerted his Power : For , in the latter Days of *Augustus* , every Man might still be what he pleased , and chuse the *Character* and *Manners* that best suited his Inclinations. *One* was proud of his high Descent ; but ashamed to own that he was so : *another* valued himself on the Honors and Offices he had borne : and a *third* despising these Honors , hugged himself in the Elegance of his Table , and Pleasures of his private Life. A Hint to the first of these , of the Nobleness of his Blood , would make it flush in his Face : — Consulships , and Triumphs , and Provinces would be the welcome Subjects to the other's Ear ; and the Vanity of these Pageants , — a *Sneer at a Lictor* , or a *Jest on the Fasces* , would steal a Smile from the last.

This difficult Science of Men , the courtly *Horace* is said to have understood beyond his Cotemporaries , and to have made it subservient to the best

of Purposes: while true to the Interests of public Virtue, he wrapt up some Maxim of Clemency and Beneficence in every Address to the Prince, and of Integrity and Moderation in every Compliment to the Ministers. He lived long in high Favor with the prime Favorite; and had the Offer of higher Employments and a greater Trust from Augustus, than his Scheme of Life permitted him to accept. He possessed the two great Accomplishments of an agreeable Man, *Sincerity* and *sweet Temper*; and as he adorned them with a lively Wit, exquisite Taste, and extensive Learning, no wonder if he was the Delight of the most accomplished Men in *Rome*. He seems indeed to have been conscious of his Talent, *to please*; for he hath either writ a Letter or addressed a Satyr or Song to the chief Persons who made a figure in Court at that time. As we grow acquainted with *them*, we read his Writings with higher Relish; and could that Acquaintance be improved into a Familiarity, we would then enter into the *Propriety* of every Word and Thought: We would figure to ourselves such Men as *Pollio*, *Trebatius*, *Lollius*, or the young *Pisos* receiving his Letters; and imagine we saw the Features of Pleasure and Shame changing alternately upon their Faces, while they perused these artful Instructions and concealed Reproofs, which procured him so many valuable Friendships when alive, and have since secured him so high a Reputation wherever his Works are known.

Yet to do Justice to him, and to his Set of

noble Friends, we must by no means confine ourselves to their *Pleasures*; but take in as much of the *public Affairs* as will assist us to trace them in their political Capacity: And *that* cannot be done without a thorough Understanding of the Constitution of ancient *Rome*, and of the Powers of her Magistrates: For it is impossible to form a just Notion of any Man's Rank or Interest in his Country, if we are ignorant either of the Nature and Functions of the Offices he bears, or of his Abilities to discharge them; a Point, though of the greatest Importance, that has been generally but lamely handled; — I suppose because the numerous Writers upon these Subjects have either been Men of *mere Study*, little acquainted with *Life*; or if attempted by any one, capable of drawing up a Plan of Government, he has only consulted the *Latin Authors*, who were at no pains to explain to their Countrymen the Meaning of Terms which every *Roman* knew. But the noble and ingenious Strangers who lived at *Rome*², and were careful to consider the Constitution and Discipline which had made the *Romans* their Masters, *They* are the genuine Sources of Information; because as they wrote in a different Language, and for the Instruction of their own Countrymen, (Foreigners unacquainted with the *Roman* Customs and Government) they take pains to explain the Nature of

² *Polybius* the *Megalopolitan*, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, and the great Geographer *Strabo*.

that Government, and write in effect as if they had intended their Works for us.

By *their* means, and especially one great Man's, the admirable Polybius, whose Writings are the Wonder of all that understand them, we come best to comprehend the entire Model of the ancient Commonwealth as it stood under the Consuls; and are capable of forming the truest Judgment of the Changes made in it by the civil Wars, and by the Princes, who, in consequence of them, usurped the supreme Power. Without this, we should lose a great Part of our Entertainment: For many things had been done by Augustus, and some things were still transacting at his Court, which the Men of Wit (being Men of Sense too) did not care once to *mention*; other things that *must needs* be mentioned, required all their Address to touch upon them tenderly. It cannot but be entertaining to observe the Colors they have put upon these ambiguous Actions; the Turns they have chosen to give them, and the Points upon which they thought it most convenient *to hold their Tongue*: An uncommon Prerogative, which Virtue and Capacity bestow upon a Set of ingenious Men, favored by an all-powerful Court, *that their very Silence* should prove instructive³!

But, as I said before, it was after a long and cruel Struggle, in which the best Blood in Rome

³ *Diurna Populi Romani per Provincias, per Exercitus curatius leguntur, ut noscatur quid Thrasea non fecerit.*

Cor. Tacit. Annal. xvi.

was spilt, that Augustus became Master of the Commonwealth; and though he preserved the old Forms and Appearances of Magistrates, yet having wholly changed the Government and destroyed the Vitals of their Liberty, there were *Decencies* to be observed, and *Distances* to be kept when such ticklish Subjects came in view: And then it is, or never, that we may certainly judge, whether the Authors were Men of Discretion as well as Fancy; if they were really Masters in Life, or only Makers of Verse; and may form no ill Notion of a Writer's Capacity and Disposition of his Patron, from some of these finer Strokes that escape the general Observation.

To assist us upon so delicate a Point, a peculiar Piece of good Fortune attended the Writers of the *Augustan Age*, without which it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, to see the Nicety of their Conduct in all its Extent and Beauty. As both *they*, and the *great Men* to whom they wrote, excelled in some respects all who had gone before them, and in every respect all who came after them, their superior Merit made them the Subject of much Discourse in the succeeding Reigns; and occasioned their being quoted in all Conversations, as the Patterns of Politeness, Sense, and Learning. A Consequence of this was, that the Writers of these Reigns have likewise adduced their Opinions upon many Occasions, and have recorded a thousand Particularities of their Persons, Adventures, and Manner of Life, some of which perhaps even their own Writings had not transmitted to Posterity.

These scattered Remains (the only Comfort or Compensation we have for the Loss of the other) contain the private Characters of that *illustrious Band of Friends* who were the chief Ornament of the Court of Augustus. When to an Acquaintance with these Characters, we join a proper Knowledge of the *public Transactions*, we become qualified to judge of one of the greatest Events in History, the *Catastrophe of Rome*; — and, as it were by the bye, to read the Writings of a *Virgil* and a *Horace* with Understanding and Taste.

But to reach these Ends it will be necessary, both to look a little narrowly into the State of Affairs at the Death of the grand Usurper *Julius Cæsar*; and still more, to give previously some *genuine Account* of the *Place*, and of the extraordinary Fortunes of the *People* who are to be the Subject of the following Memoirs.

I am, SIR! perfectly aware of the Difficulty of the Attempt. To describe the *Rise* and gradual *Progress* of a Constitution, and to point out the happy *Conjunctures* in the Nonage of a State, that from a Hamlet of Shepherds, and Nest of Fugitives, raised it to be the Mistress of Nations, and Head of the western World, is no trivial Undertaking: and I acknowledge with pleasure, that if I am able to do any Justice to the Subject, — if I have indeed comprehended the Power and explained the Policy of the *Roman Government*, it is chiefly owing to the long Attention I have given to the *British Constitution*, and to the Attachments I have had to some of its *truest Friends*.

With *their* assistance I have carefully compared the Accounts given of the Parts and Powers of the *Roman Republic* by the most consummate Statesman of Antiquity * with the legislative and executive Powers of *Great Britain*; I have attentively considered these Powers in their *free Exercise* in both States, and have set the civil Struggles of the *Roman Republic*, as it were over-against the most memorable Periods of the *British History*. — I have, in short, refused no Light that Records of the Dead, or Converse with the Living could afford, and have submitted to the disagreeable Task of turning over many an useless Volume upon the beaten embarrassed Subject.

Yet still — I write with Diffidence: — A Theme that employed the Heads of the wisest in *Rome*, that warmed the Hearts of her Patriots, and directed the Hands of her invincible Legions, makes me earnestly wish for the Guidance of Experience, and Direction of superior Capacity.

May I therefore have the Honor I well know how to prize, of delineating the *Roman Model*, as it were, under the Eye of the greatest *British Patriot*! and whilst I trace the Causes, and point out the Excellencies of a Consular-Plan, may I flatter myself with the pleasing Hopes of an *Admonition* where I mistake, and a *masterly Assistance* where I am unequal to the Enterprize.

* Polybius already mentioned, Favorite of the younger *Scipio Africanus*.

THE CITY ROME, which in the Reign of *Augustus*, had the finest Countries of the known World under its Dominion, was at first no more than an inconsiderable Colony from *Alba*: But the *Time* of its Foundation, its *Situation* and *Neighbourhood*, and its early *Fortunes*, seem first to have formed, and then conspired with the *Character* of its Citizens, to raise it to that Pitch of Power and Grandeur which it afterwards attained.

It is now almost two thousand four hundred and fourscore Years since *Romulus*, a Youth bred up in a pastoral hardy Life, was discovered to belong to the *Alban* royal Family. He was a Grand-child of *Numitor* by his Daughter *Ilia* or *Rhea*. The young Lady happened to be found with Child, though a Priestess of *Vesta*, and it was given out that *Mars* was the Father; which in those days, when the Gods were frequently supposed to converse with Men, was better believed than it would be at present. Their Family was thought to be descended from *Eneas*, a Prince whom the Ancients looked upon as particularly favored by Heaven^s, since of all the Trojans *he* and *Antenor* were only spared by the *Greeks* at the destruction of *Troy*, and permitted to sail off with the Remains of their People, in quest of other Seats. After much

^s Αινείας δὲ σῶσας μὲν τοὺς πατρώους θεοὺς, σῶσας ἰδὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, δόξαν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνέγκαστο, ὥς τε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνω ὧν ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἔδωκαν μὴ συληθῆναι.

Ξενοφώντας, Κυνηγετικός.

wandering and many Hardships, they both settled in *Italy*; and the Posterity of *Eneas* had reigned for several generations in *Alba*, a Town, or rather a large *Village*, with a small Territory, not a great way from the Place where *Rome* was afterwards built.

Romulus was a bold enterprising Temper, Chief of the neighbouring Shepherds and their Captain when attacked by the Mountain-robbers. After the discovery of his high Birth, being informed that his Grand-father, then Head of the Family, was excluded from the Government by the Usurpation of a younger Brother, he gathered his rustic Troop, and getting privately into the Town, surprised the Usurper, and re-established *Numitor* in the Throne.

In return for this Service, having little or no Attachment to a Place where he had never lived, or perhaps through an impatience to *command*, he asked and obtained liberty from the restored King to lead out a Colony of as many of the Inhabitants of *Alba* as should be willing to follow his Fortunes. There were about fifteen hundred Men, according to the *Roman* Historians, who chose to leave their native Country in hopes of finding a better condition in another. With these, joined to his old hardy Companions, the Shepherds, *Romulus* laid the Foundations of his new City at a very happy Conjunction.

It was then *Italy* itself was thinly inhabited, and parcelled out into many small scattered States of different Customs and Forms of Government;

when *Gaul* and *Spain*, and every thing to the *West* and *North*, was covered with gross Barbarity, and ignorant of any kind of Discipline: to the *East* was *Greece*, disciplined indeed, and able to have over-run them with ease, had they turned their Arms that way: but, happily for infant-*Rome*, *Greece* was employed either in its own civil Wars, or obliged to keep its eye constantly fixed upon the *Great King* (so they called the King of *Persia*) who was then rising to his Meridian, and designing the conquest of *Europe* and the World. By this means the *Grecian* Power, instead of making attempts upon *Italy*, was a Bulwark to the young state against *Asiatic* Invasions, until *Rome* gathered Strength, and was able to deal with all her Opposers.

The first Thing that *Romulus* did, after marking out the Boundaries of his new City, was to proclaim an *Asylum* or Sanctuary to every body that would come and inhabit it⁶; which he caused to be published at the most frequented Games and great Festivals of the little States in the neighbourhood. This Proclamation had the desired Effect. It brought the *Outlaws* (a numerous Tribe then in *Italy*) from their Retreats on all hands; and occasioned besides a great resort of various kinds of People: the *discontented* and *uneasy* at home,

⁶ *Romulus ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto,
Cuilibet huc, inquit, confuge, tutus eris.
O quam de tenui Romanus origine crevit!
Turba vetus quam non invidiosa fuit!*

Ovid. Fastor. Lib. iii. §. 7.

the *indigent* and *rapacious*, *Slaves* and *Fugitives* from all quarters, came flocking to a young martial Commander, and were made welcome.

We must therefore consider the first Foundation of *Rome*, not as a *regular Colony*, led out from an ancient well-regulated State, by whose Laws and Institutions it was to be governed; but as a Mixture of several kinds of People, the Inhabitants of ancient *Latium*⁷, differing in Customs and Manners, and the greater Part of them unacquainted with a legal orderly Life. There was first *Romulus's* own Troop, accustomed to nothing but the Woods and the Mountains; there was the Body of Volunteers from *Alba*, not the Persons of the best Character and Condition in that Territory; and lastly, which was the greater Number, there was a Confluence of Banditti, the Refuse of *Italy*, all inured to a vagabond lawless Life, and many of them subsisting by Rapine and Plunder.

Such then were the first Inhabitants of *Rome*; a Band of Men whose chief hopes lay in their own Right-hands; who were under the protection of no Government, were obnoxious to all their Neighbours, and incapable of recommending themselves by the Arts of Peace: And as they

⁷ *Latium antiquum a Tiberi Circeios servatum est, mille passuum quinquaginta longitudine: tam tenues primordio Imperii fuere radices. Colonis sæpe mutatis tenuère alii aliis temporibus, Aborigines, Pelasgi, Arcades, Siculi, Aurunci, Rutuli; & ultra Circeios Volsci, Osci, Aufones, unde nomen modò Latii processit ad Lyrin amnem.*

C. Plinii Nat. Histor. Lib. iii. cap. v.

had few Ties of Relation and Consanguinity among themselves, and were more fierce and impatient of Restraint than a People trained up to Regularity and Obedience, they both stood in need of good Usage at home, and of more cogent Motives from abroad, to keep them quiet and orderly.

It was their peculiar good Fortune to meet with *both*; For, in order to make them well contented with their new State, and submit chearfully to his Authority, *Romulus* gave them peculiar Privileges and a great Share in the Management of public Affairs;—and their *Situation* with respect to their Neighbours, effectually taught them the Virtues of Concord^{*} and Love of their new Common Weal. They were seated on the West Side of *Italy*, a Coast then pretty much unknown to the *Greeks*, and encompassed with little *hostile States*, who envied their sudden Growth, attacked them by Force and Fraud one after another; and who, for a long Tract of Years, were every now and then bringing upstart *Rome* to the Brink of Ruin: Nor did the weakest of them all, when they had once declared War, lay down their Arms, and give up their Liberty, until they were forced to it by Dint of Sword.

The *Capuans* demanded by their Ambassadors, as a condition of Peace, that one of the yearly

^{*} Externus timor, maximum concordiae Vinculum, quamvis suspectos infensosque inter se jungit Animos.

T. Livii Lib. ii.

electd Consuls should be a *Campanian* ; The *Samnites* bid the *Roman* Ambassadors spare themselves the trouble of *talking* about Peace or War; but meet them on *such* a Plain with their Army, there to decide, *Which* People should have the Dominion of *Italy*? even the Siege of the Town of *Veii*, after the Nation was disabled from taking the field, lasted for *ten* Years — and the *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, the *Fidenians*, the *Hernicians*, the *Fregellans*, but above all the obstinate *Etrurians* or *Tuscans*, and the furious Irruptions of the *Gauls*, scarce left *Rome* in the course of four Centuries three successive Years of Peace.

Thus the *Romans*, from the time of their Settlement, were kept almost constantly to the *Exercise of their Arms*; first to preserve themselves and their new-founded City from imminent Destruction, and when they had got the upper hand in that Quarrel, they fought next for *Conquest* and *Dominion*. For finding themselves superior in the Field to their envious Neighbours who had endeavoured to crush their tender Establishment, they began by little and little to extend their small Territory, espoused all the Quarrels of their Friends and Allies⁹; and when the Sword was once drawn, they never desisted until they had obliged the common Enemy to take Laws from *them*. This entailed War after War upon *Rome*, made a Soldier of every Citizen,

⁹ Noster autem Populus, fociis defendendis, terrarum jam omnium potitus est.

Cicero apud Nonium.

and of every Magistrate a General. Their military Skill and personal Bravery increased by every new Struggle; and before *Italy* itself was wholly subdued, the State like a Man grown up amidst Toils and Hardships, was in breath to cope with the fiercest Assailant that ever attacked a Nation¹⁰.

This general Observation looks forwards to the subsequent Fortunes of the *Roman Republic*; and is so nearly connected with another of the same kind, that I cannot help anticipating myself upon the Subject, and remarking, that, during this Struggle for the Dominion of *Italy* alone, which lasted upwards of four hundred Years, the *Manners* of the *Romans* were formed, their *Spirit* tempered, their *Opinions* of Honor and Happiness settled, the *Laws* and *Religion* of their Country turned venerable and sacred, and the Foundations deeply laid of *those Passions*, that support Mankind in the greatest Performances.

But I resume the History of their new Settlement, in order to discover what it was in their Constitution that enabled them thus to carry on War after War, without being exhausted and ruined; and what other Accidents directed them *to that Constitution*. For when the City was tolerably built, and peopled with such a Medley of various Inhabitants, the Order and Regulations by which they must be governed, were accommodated of course to the present *Exigencies* of their Situation.

Accordingly the Citizens were divided into two

¹⁰ Hannibal *the* Carthaginian.

Ranks or Orders, *Nobles* and *Commons*, or in the *Roman* style, *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; a Division which forms itself naturally in every great Body of Men, and is much easier made than preserved. Out of the first, *Romulus* chose one hundred for his great Council or Senate: They were all Men advanced in Years, and were called by the honorable Title of *Fathers*: Of the other, he composed the Gross of his Legions, gave them the disposal of all the Booty taken in War, and no small share in the Administration. These two Orders, with himself at their Head, made up the entire Body of the *Roman State*: It was a complete Army in the Field with its proper Officers, every *Roman* being obliged to march when his Country called to Arms; and a civil Government at home, in the form of a mixed or limited Monarchy. The Powers of the several Parts of which it was composed, came afterwards to be admirably tempered by the help of a Chain of Events, all contributing to the Improvement of *Romulus's* Plan; — which in short was this.

The KING, in the first place, had the Precedency at all *Sacrifices* and public *Festivals*, and performed in person, the chief parts in all religious Ceremonies, which at that time was an Office highly honorable. He was the *Guardian* of the *Laws*, and presided in the Courts of Justice, when Judgment was to be given in the greatest Causes. He had the sole power of calling the Senate, and convoking Assemblies of the People; and gave his Opinion first in the meeting. But his grand

Prerogative, and what *Romulus* had most occasion to exercise, was to be General in time of War, and command in the Field without Control or Partnership.

The SENATE's Province was to hear, deliberate, and give their opinion of all public Matters: they were, as was just now said, the King's *Great Council*: But, independently of him, they had the Power of resolving to make Peace or War; and out of their Body all the Officers of State and Magistrates were to be chosen; no Man being capable of holding any Office of Honor or Trust but a *Patrician*. — One should wonder after this, what Power or Privileges were left to the People, whose Share proved afterwards, in the Progress of the Commonwealth, an Overmatch for the other two.

The COMMONS had the Election and Nomination of all Magistrates and public Officers, civil and military, beginning at the Sovereign himself: A Power of the most extensive Influence through all the constituent Parts of the State, and only limited by their Choice, being confined to the Body of *Patricians*. Then they confirmed or rejected in the last Resort the Laws and Regulations transmitted to their Assembly from the Senate: To them lay the final Appeal in Cases of Treason, Murder, Misdemeanours in the high Offices of State¹¹. And lastly, they assumed the final Deter-

¹¹ Provocationem ad Populum etiam à Regibus fuisse: id ita in pontificalibus libris aliqui putant, & *Fenestella*.]

Cicero ap. Senec. Ep. cviii.

Videro cessurus ne Provocationi sis (ad Populum) cui

mination of Peace and War. They exercised this Power at first, before the Senate took the matter into their Consideration, who only approved or annulled the Resolution of the People: But afterwards, the Senate made the prior Step; and the Commons gave or refused the *Sanction*.

This admirable Constitution proved the great Security of *Rome* in her infant State, and laid the Foundation of all her future Grandeur. Its visible Tendency is to secure the Enjoyment of private Right and Property, and of consequence bids fairest for an able and incorrupt Administration. But it will be more proper to take a full view of its Virtues, and show how much it is calculated for obtaining these great Ends of Government; when we come to consider it with its Improvements in the Form it took under the Consular-State. At present I must take notice of another *Institution* of *Romulus*, which, though apparently of a private Nature, produced great and good Effects in public, and diffused its beneficent Influence through all the Parts of the Commonwealth.

It was that of *Patronage* and *Clientship*, which obliged the two Orders of *Nobles* and *Commons* to a reciprocal Exchange of Good-offices: The Nobleman or Senator was to take the Commoner and

Rex Romanus Tullus Hostilius cessit? said the old *M. Fabius* to the severe Dictator *L. Papirius Cursor*, who insisted to have his Son *Q. Fabius*, Master of Horse, punished for fighting with, and beating the *Samnites* contrary to his Orders.

all his Concerns into his Protection ; he was to direct him in his Business, to explain the Laws to him, to plead his Cause when prosecuted, to defend him from every kind of Injury ; was Tutor by law to his Children while Minors, and Heir of all he had if he died intestated ¹² *without legal Heirs*. The Client, on the other hand, was to do every thing that could promote the Honor or Interest of his Patron: He was to attend him to the Forum and Senate, to give him his Vote when he stood Candidate for the high Offices of his Country, and assist him with all his Might to acquire that Power, which was to protect himself in return. No Judge or Court could call them as Witnesses against one another; and as it was reputed highly infamous in a great Man to take Money for doing any of these good Offices, so there were many Instances where the Clients have met in a Body, and when their Patron's Family was low, have taxed themselves, and given Portions to his Daughters suitable to their Birth and Quality.

This was the happy humane Institution which cemented the two naturally opposite Parties in the State; and while there were no Attempts made upon the original Plan of Government, it frequently prevented or healed the Misunderstandings that are apt to happen betwixt them. Nor was its social Influence confined within the Verge of *Rome*, but diffused itself first through *Italy*, and with the Propagation of its Dominion, reached

¹² Ex Lege XII. Tabularum.

the utmost Limits of the Empire. It then embraced the most distant Towns and Corporations, and glued them to *Rome* by the Protection and Patronage of some great Man, to whose honor it redounded the more in number, and more illustrious they were: a *happy Method* of reconciling the Passions and Interests of Men to the public Good; and making the wildest of them (Ambition) subservient to the Felicity of as many Individuals as the Keeness of the aspiring Senator prompted him to undertake!

To perpetuate this mutual Benefit, the Connexion between the two Parties was not allowed to drop upon the Death of a Patron; it was hereditary to his Family, the Father's good Deeds being a Treasure of Merit to the Son, and the Son being obliged by Honor and Interest to make good his Father's Engagements. It came at last to be looked upon as a *sacred Tie* between Persons of the several Conditions; and to violate it — that is for a Nobleman to neglect his Client, or desert him in Distress, grew to be a thing of the deepest and most indelible Infamy¹¹: But if the latter was

¹¹ Patronus, si Clienti fraudem fecerit, SACER esto.

L. x. xii. Tabul. apud Servium in Æn. vi.

Homo facer is est, quem Populus judiavit ob maleficium, neque fas est eum immolari; sed qui occidit, parricidium non damnatur: nam Lege tribuniciâ primâ cavetur. Si quis eum qui eo Plebiscito facer sit, occiderit, Parricidæ ne sit: ex quo quivis Homo malus atque improbus facer appellari solet.

S. P. Festus de verb. significat.

found opposing his Benefactor, he had in some Cases the *parental* Power over him, and was at liberty to put him to Death.

These were some of the Foundations laid by *Romulus* of the future order and discipline of the *Romans*. He it was who drew these first Lines of that Model or Plan of Government, under which this Medley of the different Nations of Greece and Italy prospered at home and conquered abroad ¹⁴. The chief Passion of his Life seems to have been to raise the Power and Reputation of his new-founded City, by constantly adding to the Number of its Inhabitants. For this end he not only made Rome a safe Retreat to Men of all Characters and Conditions; but used another piece of Policy very little practised in that barbarous Age. Instead of putting the people he conquered to the Sword, or selling his Captives for Slaves, he always transplanted them into his new Settlement; and which was still stranger, admitted them to all the Privileges of the former Inhabitants. In this manner he treated the *Antennates*, the

¹⁴ Ῥωμύλος δὲ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ πόλιν οἰκίσαντι, ἐκκαίδεκα γενεαῖς τῶν Τροϊκῶν ὕπερον, ἣν νῦν ἔχουσιν ὀνομασίαν μέγαλαβόντες, ἔθνη τε μέγιστον ἐξ ἐλαχίστων γενέσθαι σὺν χρόνῳ παρεσκευάσαν, καὶ περιφανέστατον ἐξ ἀδελφότητος, τῶν τε δεομένων οἰκήσεως παρὰ σφίσι Φιλανθρώπῳ ὑποδοχῇ καὶ πολιτείας μεταδόσει τοῖς μετὰ τῷ γενναίῳ ἐν πολέμῳ κρείττεσσι, δέλων τε ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖεν ἀξιοῖς εἶναι συγχωρήσει, τύχης τε ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονίας, εἰ μέλλοι τὸ κοινὸν ὀφελεῖν ἀπαξιώσει, ὑπὲρ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κόσμῳ τῷ πολιτεύματι, ὃν ἐκ πολλῶν καλεσθήσαντο παθημάτων, ἐκ παντὸς καιροῦ λαμβάνοντες τι χρησιμὴν.

Crustumians, the *Fidenians*, People of the bordering States; and at last condescended to sacrifice even half his Royalty to the same Consideration.

A cruel and dubious War had broke out between the *Romans* and a Tribe of the *Sabines*, the most potent of their Neighbours, upon the known Story of the *Rape* of their Virgins. The two Armies were engaged, the Battle fierce, and Darts flying thick, when the ravished Ladies, who had lived for some time in *Rome*, came shrieking into the Field, ventured in between the hostile Files, and besought their Fathers and Brothers on one hand, and their Husbands and Lovers on the other, to desist from the *unnatural War*¹⁵. Their Prayers were effectual: a Peace was concluded between the two Nations, and *Romulus* agreed to divide his Kingdom with *Titus Tatius* the Sabine Prince upon a Condition then easily accepted, "That he
" would come with his People and inhabit the
" City where their Daughters and Sisters were
" settled before them."

This conduct of the Founder of *Rome*, met with all the Success which his Heart could wish, and his Humanity deserved. His favorite City, which was to transmit his Name to Posterity, flourished beyond his Hopes; and particularly the Number of its Citizens increased so fast, that he

¹⁵ This famous Interposition of the *Roman Matrons* happened on the first Day of March, and in commemoration of it the *Matronalia* was instituted. See Horat. lib. iii. ode 8. ad Mæcenatem.

had the Pleasure to lead out a Colony from *Rome* himself, in the *six-and-thirtieth* Year from its Foundation. After a glorious Life, spent in almost continual Wars, with a few Shocks of adverse Fortune, and many Victories, he died in such a manner as discovered the *Romans* to be a very jealous and cruel People.

He had called the Senators together to witness a solemn *Review* of the Army without the Town; but they were surprised with a sudden Darkness, occasioned by an Eclipse of the Sun, and accompanied with a violent Tempest of Rain and Thunder, which dispersed the Meeting, and after which neither the *King*, nor any *Vestige* of him, was ever more seen on Earth ¹⁶. It was given out, that he was snatched up to Heaven in the Storm; and one *Julius Proculus* assured the People, that he had appeared to him next Morning with the Ensigns of Divinity, and told him that he was now the God *Quirinus*, and that his new-founded City was to be the *Head* of the World: But a secret Suspicion prevailed, that he was murdered and torn in pieces by his great Council or Senate, upon some Steps he had made towards absolute Power ¹⁷.

¹⁶ Romulus periisse solis defectione.

Seneca ex Cicerone, Epist. cviii.

¹⁷ Χαλεπήν δὲ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἄψασθαι τῶν Πατρικιῶν, καὶ ῥυῆναι λόγον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατ' αὐτῶν, ὥς πάλαι βαρυνόμενοι τῷ βασιλεύεσθαι, καὶ μελαγχῆσαι τὸ κράτος εἰς ἐαυτῆς θέλοντες, ἀνέλοιεν τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ γὰρ εἶδοκει τραχύτερον ἢ δὴ προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ μοναρχικώτερον αὐτοῖς.

Πλείστ. Νουμάς.

The *Roman* State was now without a *Head*, and in some danger of continuing in that condition for a considerable Time : The different Nations who inhabited the City could not agree among themselves, out of which of them the Man should be chosen, whom they would intrust with the regal Authority : neither was there any one Senator of such superior Merit and distinguished Reputation, as to turn the Eyes of the People upon him, and encourage him to hope for the Kingdom. The Diffension therefore of the several Nations occasioned no Sedition in the State ; as it was not attended with any private ambitious Design, to foment Division and exasperate the Parties against one another : It went no farther than to retard the Election, and keep the Throne vacant for more than a Year after *Romulus's* Death.

During that time, the Want of a Leader might have proved of pernicious Consequence to the Public, if any of their jealous Neighbours had watched the opportunity, and surpris'd them with a sudden Invasion. But the *Fathers*, to prevent such Inconveniences, fell upon a Scheme of putting the Royalty into Commission, and executing that Commission themselves in their turns. They divided themselves into *Tens* : and each *Ten* had the supreme Power, and did the Duty of the *Prince* for five Days. One Senator of the *Ten* whose turn it was, had the Lictors carrying before him the Rods and Axes, the Ensigns of regal Authority ; but the Thing itself was vested in the whole Number : In this manner it went round

the entire Body of the Senate in fifty Days, and then they began the Revolution a-new, and continued succeeding one another until the Year was completed.

But the *Roman* People, accustomed to the Triumphs and Caresses of *Romulus*, who, for an obvious reason, liked them much better than he did the *Patricians*, grew weary of these *substituted* Sovereigns; and the Fathers themselves, to avoid greater Evils, saw there was a Necessity to comply and create a King. They therefore sent a Message to the Assembly of the Commons, desiring them to *name* the Person whom they inclined to raise to the sovereign Dignity: and if he was thought worthy to succeed the great *Romulus*, the *Senate* would ratify the Nomination. This Message was so agreeable to the Commons, that not to be behind in Generosity, they passed a Vote by which they transferred their Right to the Senate, and impowered that august Body to make choice of a King to govern the *Romans*.

The *Fathers* were divided into almost equal Numbers of *Sabines*, and those who bore the *Roman* Name; so that the danger of a Dissension among them, was rather increased than diminished by this new Power lodged in their hands: But there was a Man living at that time, not in *Rome*, but passing his days in a retired manner in the Country, whose Reputation for Wisdom, Justice and Piety, was so universally established, that his name was no sooner mentioned in the Senate, than both Parties seemed to forget their private

Interests , and unanimously resolved to call him to the Throne.

It was *Numa Pompilius* , a *Sabine* by Birth , and past his Youth ; of a mild serene Disposition , humane and beneficent ; and because of his singular Piety , and Sanctity of Manners , thought to be a *peculiar Favorite of Heaven*. He was with some difficulty persuaded to quit his loved Retirement , and involve himself in the Cares of Government. But , having first consulted the Gods , he consented to go with the Ambassadors from the Senate ; came to *Rome* , and was vested with the Regal Dignity by a solemn and unanimous Assent of the People.

This *extraordinary* Person came to govern at a very critical Juncture. The State was in a *severish* unsettled Habit : It consisted of bold daring Spirits , Men originally of desperate Fortunes , unacquainted with peaceful Laws , and accustomed to Violence : They had now for a good many Years been employed in continual Wars , which had inured them more than ever to *Rapine* and *Blood* ; and being at present exceedingly elated with their Victories under *Romulus* , it was uncertain which way , or how soon this *high-fed* Humor might take a Vent.

The wise *Numa* was perfectly aware of this dangerous Disposition , and turned all his Thoughts , *how to mollify and wear it out*. He well knew , no *human* Authority would be a sufficient Curb for it ; and that if a fierce lawless Multitude were directly opposed in their Inclinations , it might but serve to irritate them against their Leaders ,

and make them break out into greater Excesses of Fury and Violence. He therefore borrowed the Assistance of *Heaven*, and employed the more benign Aspects and social Influences of *Religion*, to soften their rugged Minds, and impress them with a Reverence for the *Gods*, that it might teach them some Regard to *Men* ¹⁸. This he endeavoured to introduce into every important Step of their Life, and artfully infused them into the chief Parts of the Administration.

In the first place, after his own great Example, nothing of moment was to be set about, without being first assured, that the Gods did approve, and would favor the Undertaking: and *great* was the Decency and Circumspection to be used in every Step of the religious Performance. Of this Conduct he had set an illustrious Pattern himself, in refusing to accept the *Royalty*, until he had solemnly consulted the Gods by *Auspicy* (observing the Flight of Birds to the right or left, or towards certain Divisions of the Heavens), whether it was their Good-pleasure he should be *King at Rome*, or remain in the Country in a private Station?

To give the greater authority to this general Ordinance, he appointed the various *Orders* of Priests or *sacred Ministers*, who were to have the direction of this and of all religious matters. He prescribed the method of their sacrifices, the

¹⁸ Principio, nimium promptos ad bella Quirites
Molliri placuit jure, Deûmque metu:
Inde datæ leges.

Ovid. Fastor. lib. III. § 3.

seasons of their Feasts , the Forms of Prayer , and Hymns to particular Deities , with the necessary Rites and Precautions , in order to make them *holy* and *acceptable* to the Gods. He divided the Year into twelve Months , that his Church might have a regular *Calendar* ; he assigned the Funds for the Priests Subsistence , and defraying the expenses of the public Sacrifices : He even condescended to appoint the Form of the holy *Vestments* and sacred *Utenfils* ; and , in a word , settled both the Matter and the Manner of their religious Worship. *Thus* he became the Author of their *Ecclesiastical Polity* , which served at present to divert the martial Ardor of the Citizens , by fixing their attention upon the Service of *Heaven* , and (which does not always happen in such Institutions) , proved afterwards *an useful Part of their civil Establishment*.

I must not pretend to enumerate the various Orders of Priests , and Societies of Prophets instituted by Numa ; but one or two of them deserve to be particularly observed , as they discover a little of the Spirit and Intention of the Lawgiver. He appointed a *Flamen* , or holy Priest , whose Head was to be covered with a woollen Garment ¹⁹ , to do sacrifice to *Jupiter* the supreme

¹⁹ Purpureo velare comas adopertus amictu ,
Ne qua inter sanctos ignes , in honore Deorum
Hostilis facies occurrat , & omina turbet.
Hunc focii morem sacrorum , hunc ipse teneto ;
Hac casti maneant in religione nepotes.

Virgil. *Æneid.* iii.

Deity ,

Deity, and Father, as they called him, both of Gods and Men. In this there was nothing particular: But at the same time he appointed another *Flamen* of the same Order and Dignity to do sacrifice to *Romulus*, or as he was called in Heaven *Quirinus*, the Founder of *Rome*; and a third to *Mars* the God of War, and the reputed Father of *Romulus*. In honor of this last Deity, he likewise instituted the twelve *Salii*, a processional saltant Order of Priests who on holy Days carried the *Ancilia* through the Streets, being twelve Shields of heavenly Workmanship, and a sort of *Palladium* in *Rome*, dancing as they went, and singing the Verses ²⁰ prescribed by *Numa*. These were some of the Contrivances of this wise and venerable Prince, to put his mixed Multitude in mind, “ That they belonged to a Community formed
 “ and protected by the Gods; to give them a
 “ high Notion of the *Public*, raise a *national Passion*,
 “ and mould them into that Character of Piety
 “ and Patriotism which he aimed at, and ob-
 “ tained. ”

He lived to a great age, and had time to perfect his religious Plan, and let it take root in the minds of the People in a long and peaceful Reign of three-and-forty years: Nor is it easy to imagine with what *Ardor and Complacency* this old King applied himself to frame and recommend these Institutions; or with what *Affiduity* he enforced

²⁰ *Saliare carmen*. See Horace, Lib. I. Od. 36, 37. Lib. II. Od. 3. & ad Augustum Epistol. Lin. 86.

the Practice of them by his Example. It was such, that one would almost be tempted to suspect that he was fully persuaded of their divine Authority himself, while he was both prescribing the Rites, and likewise laying down the Method, and appointing Times and Persons for their Performance. Perhaps it is not so uncommon a thing as many People suppose, for a grave well-disposed Person to be the Author of some sacred Maxims in Belief or Regulations in Practice; and then, or afterwards, firmly to believe his own new System to be the pure genuine Institution of Heaven ²¹.

Numa employed his whole Life in modelling the *Roman* Religion, and instructing the newly erected Priesthood. He was every now and then adding some new Procession, some solemn Feast or general Sacrifice, to the number of the public Assemblies, which called the People frequently together, and put them in mind of their *Country* as the Cause of their Meeting: For while they were assembled in the Temples, or were standing in Silence round the sacred Altars, they felt the awe of the *Public-presence*, and beheld with their eyes the Beauty and Majesty of that Community,

²¹ The learned and honest *Pasquier*, in his Pleading against the Incorporation of the Jesuits into the University of Paris, has this remarkable Sentence. “ Car lorsque nous sommes frappés d’un zèle de religion, nous pensons quelquefois faire grand sacrifice à Dieu, voire quand par Voyes *inaccoutumées* & *obliques* faisons gagner vogue à nos opinions. ”

Recherches de la France, Liv. III. ch. XLIII.

for whose Prosperity they were making vows to the Gods. He likewise instructed them in a very feeling manner in the natures of the chief *Virtues*, by building *Temples* to them; and appointed a particular Service to Truth or *Honesty*, the Parent of them all.

By these and such-like methods, he at last obtained his great Purpose: which was to infuse into this fierce People a settled and fixed opinion.

“ That the GODS, an immortal Race inhabiting
 “ the Sky, have the supreme Direction and Government of all Things: that every Event,
 “ prosperous or adverse, is ordered and conducted
 “ by their Providence: That *Mankind* is their peculiar Care, upon whom they fix their Eyes,
 “ and observe what every Person is doing; with
 “ what views and dispositions each acquits himself
 “ of his Duty to his *Country* and to *them*; rewarding the good and worthy, and punishing
 “ the perverse according to their Demerits²². ”

In consequence of this Persuasion, he gave a very ample Authority to a venerable *Order* of Men, who by certain Signs and Marks contained in the Science transmitted to them, should learn the

²² Sit igitur hoc jam a principio persuasum civibus, *Dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores Deos*; eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri judicio ac numine; eosdemque optimè de genere hominum mereri; & qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, quâ mente, quâ pietate *Religiones* colat intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem.

Good-pleasure of the Gods in every Affair, which Mortals can undertake, and were to be *Interpreters* of it to the Community. They were called *Augurs*, and were incorporated into a Society or *College*, without whose permission no great Design was to be formed, nor a single Step taken in the execution. They predicted the success of War, and determined the expediency of a Peace. They dissolved the grand Meetings of the People at their pleasure, though called by the Prince, or the highest Officer of State. They rescinded the Laws passed in any Assembly, which they judged unlawfully called or held, and ordered the greatest Magistrate in *Rome* to abdicate and lay down his Office, if they thought him unduly elected. In a word, there was nothing to be undertaken at home or abroad by any person in a public Station, without *their* Approbation; and there are Instances where the Commanders of their Armies have quitted an Enterprize in the height of Success, when warned to desist by the *Augurs* ²³.

Under Covert of this sacred Institution their excellent Law-giver reached the other great End which he proposed; to put a *standing Check* upon the giddy Multitude, that they should not have it in their power to do any thing in their Assem-

²³ Multa in collegio nostro præclara; sed hoc de quo agimus in primis, quod ut quisque ætate antecedit, ita sententia principatum tenet; neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed iis etiam, qui cum Imperio sunt, majores natu Augures anteponuntur.

M. T. Cicero. Cato major.

blies detrimental to the Public, or come to any violent Resolution, without some of the wisest Men in *Rome* having it in *their* Power to prorogue the Meeting or annul the Resolve. Accordingly it was provided, that these *Interpreters* of the Will of Heaven, should be of the most eminent of the *old Patricians*, and should be elected, *not* by the People, like the other Priests; but, upon the Death of any *Augur*, the remaining members of the College met by themselves, and *adopted* another in his room. Their order continued in such high reputation from its first Establishment to the Decline of the Empire, that when the Emperors came to accumulate the chief Dignities of the State in their own Persons, one of the first they assumed was the *Augurship*: And it is a very common thing, among the other Ensigns of Power on the Reverses of their Medals, to see the *Augur's Lituus* ²⁴, a kind of a *pastoral Staff*, with which he marked out the Compartments of the Sky in the Exercise of his Profession.

If any one should ask now, “By what means these Institutions came to be so readily received, and cheerfully submitted to, as the Dictates of Heaven?” I believe there were two things which contributed chiefly to make them acceptable to the *Romans*. First, a good part of these sacred Rites were not *purely* of Numa's own

²⁴ Virga brevis, in parte qua robustior est, incurva, quâ Augures utuntur.

A. Gelli. Noct. Attic. Lib. V. cap. VIII.

Invention; but many, nay *most* of them, had some root in the minds of a considerable number of the Citizens, as they had come from any neighbouring State who practised this or the other Rite, adopted by the religious Law-giver. The *Body of Worship* therefore prescribed by him, was not altogether a new Religion to them; only, as it was now more connected, was set about with greater Pomp than they had been accustomed to see it, and the several Parts of it performed with more Decency, it took a new form and became the more affecting and venerable.

It would indeed be a mighty difficult, perhaps an impossible Undertaking, to introduce all at once into any Nation a Religion *wholly new*; nor can I recollect any one Instance in History of its having ever been done, though frequently attempted. Nations at times have been extirpated, and the Planters who came in their room, have been of a new Persuasion; or a particular Sect has been driven out of a Country, and their Remains harassed by various Cruelties until they totally disappeared: But a People's having been prevailed upon by *any* Method, Force or Fraud, and least of all the former, to receive *at once* a new Set of religious Principles and Practices, to *none* of which they had been formerly accustomed, nor to any *Resemblance* of them, is a Revolution in human Affairs of which I know no Example.

There is, doubtless, a considerable Difference, when a Religion is to be planted in a Country which had *none* before, but whose Inhabitants

were living rude and barbarous in a savage uncultivated State; and when a Design is formed to introduce a *new* Religion, everfive of their former Belief, and abolishing their admired Model of Worship. The first has been accomplished by proper methods in many Instances: The last never that I hear of, except in the Course of the Adventures of the *Incas* and *Iroquois* in *America*, whose wonderful Success I leave to the Consideration of the modern *Missionaries*.

OPINION, they say, cannot be *forced*, no not by ourselves; *infused*, it may be; and altered too by *Time* and *Art*: and the chief Dexterity of that *Art* must be to color over the new Tenets, and make them as like our former Creed as it is possible. Thus the celebrated religious Founders of Antiquity adapted their Doctrine to the Notions already received in their respective Countries. *Zoroaster*, in a happy Climate, directed his chief Adoration to the *Sun*, and to *Fire*, his Image here upon Earth: The *Egyptians* fed by the *Nile*, to *Moisture*, and the Power of Vegetation: *Zamolxis*, under a frozen Sky, connected his Rites with the Joys of *Wine*, and promised to his *Scythians*, like our Saxon *Odin*, an eternal Revel with himself in a noble Hall, as the Reward of their Piety and Virtues ²⁵; in the same manner

²⁵ That it was a national Belief is evident from the Story of *Museus*, who brought the very same Doctrine from *Thracia* into *Greece*. Μουσαῖος δὲ τῶν νεανικώτερων τ' ἀγαθῶν ἢ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ παρὰ θεῶν διδόασιν τοῖς δικαίοις· εἰς ἅλδ' αὖ γὰρ ἀγαθόντες τῷ λόγῳ, ἢ κατακλίναντες, ἢ συμπόσιον τῶν ὀσίων παρὰ

the *Roman* Law-giver adopted the *Sabine* and *Tuscan* Gods, the ancient Deities of Italy, and only added such new Divinities, and such a Form of Worship, as the Exigencies of his new-founded City seemed to require.

The *other* Piece of *Numa's* Conduct, which chiefly contributed to make him successful in settling his religious Scheme, was of a more particular nature, and liker some of the pious Frauds of modern Times. He either gave it out himself, or artfully encouraged an Opinion, which in the end prevailed as a certain Truth, "That his
" sacred Institutions were not of his own, nor
" of any human Invention, but of an undoubted
" divine Original, and revealed to him immediately
" from Heaven." "It was not for *nothing*, they
" said, that a Prince of so mild and humane a
" Disposition, forsook the Society of Men, retired
" into the Fields and Woods, and went frequently
" down to pass so much of his time in a lonesome
" Cave: That he was richly compensated with a
" more sublime Commerce, and enjoyed celestial
" communion with a female Divinity — who ad-
" mired his Piety, and loved his Person:" It was the Nymph *Egeria*, a rural Goddess, who used to meet him in the Night at a Fountain that bore her Name, and by whom in their familiar Congresses, he was informed of the most acceptable Way of worshipping the Gods, that he might

κευάσαντες, ἐξεθανωμένους ποιῶσι τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἤδη διάγειν
μεθυσοντας, ἠγασάμενοι κάλλισον ἀρετῆς μισθόν, Μέθην Ἀιώνιον.

Πλάτων Πολιτειῶν βιβ. β.

instruct his People in their several Rites, and, by the Practice of them, draw down their Blessing upon the Roman State. When this pious Tale was once believed, (and *believed it would be*) *Numa's* sacred Prescriptions would meet with an easy Reception; every Command of his would be a *divine Oracle*; to neglect it would be a Contempt of Heaven, a spurning at its Authority, and infallibly bring down the Indignation of the Gods upon the Offender and his Posterity.

But there are so many Stories told by the Ancients, even in *polite* and knowing Times, of the *Loves* of the Gods, and of their Heroes being the *Sons* of a God, or *loved* by some Goddesses, that it cannot be disagreeable to hear the Opinion of one of their own Priests concerning these *mystical* Amours. The learned and pious Plutarch, a very speculative sort of a Man, having related the Intercourse between *Numa* and his Goddesses, falls into a Strain of Contemplation upon the Subject. 'It is plain, says he, that this Account resembles
' the ancient Tradition of the Phrygians concerning
' *Atthis*, of the Bithynians concerning *Herodotus*,
' and of the Arcadians concerning *Endymion*, who,
' as well as many other blessed Persons, were
' believed to be beloved by Goddesses; and the
' Report that they were so, was *received* and *ratified* by these Nations.

' And indeed, it is somewhere recorded, That
' the *divine Nature* rejoices not in Horses, nor is
' fond of Birds; but its Delights are among the
' *Human kind*; and therefore desires to cohabit

‘ with the eminently Good of the mortal Race;
 ‘ nor does it refuse or despise the familiar Con-
 ‘ verse of a chaste and divine Man. But, that
 ‘ God or any good Genius can give and take the
 ‘ mutual Fruition of a human Person, or taste the
 ‘ Pleasures arising from the Bloom of Youth, is a
 ‘ matter of some difficulty to be believed.

‘ At the same time, the *Egyptians* seem to have
 ‘ made a plausible distinction, when they say,
 “ That it is not impossible, that the Spirit of
 “ God may draw nigh to a *Woman*, and beget
 “ in her some Principles of Generation; but that
 “ no *Man* can mix with a Divinity, or have any
 “ carnal Conversation with a Spirit ²⁶.” ‘ Yet they
 ‘ forget, That every thing which *mixes* with
 ‘ another, yields an equal Communication of itself
 ‘ to that Object with which it mixes. — However,
 ‘ — to say, That there is a *Friendship* between
 ‘ the Gods and Men, and *such* a Love following
 ‘ upon it, as makes them watch over their Fa-
 ‘ vorite’s Manners and Virtue, is decent and
 ‘ becoming.

‘ They are not, therefore, extravagant, who, in
 ‘ a figurative way of speaking, relate the Loves
 ‘ of *Apollo* with *Hyacinthus* and *Phorbas*, and *Ad-
 ‘ metus*, and with the celebrated Sicyonian *Hip-
 ‘ politus*: That beautiful Youth, they say, never
 ‘ took shipping from Sicyon to pass over to *Cirrha*,

²⁶ Ὡς γυναικὶ μὲν οὐκ ἀδύνατον Πνεῦμα πλησιᾶσαι Θεοῦ, καὶ
 τινὰς ἐντεκεῖν ἀρχαῖς γενέσεως· ἀνδρὶ δ’ οὐκ ἔστι σύμμιξις πρὸς Θεόν,
 οὐδὲ ὁμιλία σώματος.

‘ but *Pythia*, the Delphic Prophetess, gave signs
‘ that the God knew it, and was glad, by pro-
‘ nouncing from the Oracle,

‘ *Hippolitus*, loved Youth, now sails the Sea ”.

‘ *Pan* likewise, is said to have loved *Pindar*, the
‘ Theban Poet, and to have admired his Songs;
‘ and some Deity favored the Parian *Archilochus*,
‘ and did honor to *Hesiod* when dead, because
‘ of their Muses. It was commonly reported that
‘ the God *Esculapius* used frequently to come and
‘ lodge with *Sophocles* the Tragic poet, while he
‘ lived; — a Report that has many marks of
‘ Truth in it, to be perceived at this day: and it
‘ was said that *another* God had taken care to
‘ have his Funerals decently performed at his
‘ death.

‘ Now if we grant these things concerning the
‘ Poets, with what face can we disbelieve the
‘ Deity’s approaching to *Zaleucus* and *Minos*, and
‘ conversing with *Zoroaster*, *Lycurgus* and *Numa*;
‘ Men who governed great Kingdoms, and laid
‘ down Plans of the Happiness of Nations? Should
‘ we not say, that the Gods conversed probably
‘ with these great Persons, when in a *serious*
‘ Mood, to direct and instruct them in things of
‘ high Import; and that they sought the gayer

” That Oracle being pronounced by a *Priestess*, living
in the Neighbourhood of *Cirrha*, makes it, methinks, a
little suspicious.

‘ company of the musical poetic Tribe, when inclined to *Pleasantry*? But if any one is of another way of thinking, *the Road is broad*, as *Bachylides* says, *and will hold us both*: for neither is there *any great harm* in that other Opinion which some entertain concerning *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, and the rest of the Law-givers, “That having had to do with head-strong, and unruly Multitudes, and designing to make great Innovations in Government, they *feigned* a Command from Heaven, by a wholesome Policy, tending directly to the Good of those whom it *deceived*.”

Such then was the Conduct and Character of this religious King; almost every way different from his Predecessor's: but no less conducive to the Welfare and Prosperity of the new-formed State. *Romulus* by his constant Wars had secured and aggrandized it abroad, and *Numa* by his pious Policy, laid the Foundations of good Order and Tranquillity at home: Each was true to his particular Character; at the same time that *that Character* was wonderfully fitted to the Exigencies of the Public. *Romulus*, young, ambitious and warlike, led out the Inhabitants to one Expedition after another, and bribed them by Plunder and ample Privileges to keep together and obey: while the retired and contemplative *Numa*, unfit for War, sat at home, and contrived *other Methods* of governing an unruly Multitude more agreeable to his own Temper and Manners.

One of his Regulations, of a *civil* nature, but admirably calculated to support his other Institu-

tions, must not be forgot. He knew that his religious Exercises were excellent *Allays* for the fiery Spirit of a martial People, and might serve to occupy or restrain it for some time; but if they were not kept busy some *other* way, it would still be in hazard of taking a sudden Loose, and endangering the public Tranquillity. He, therefore, divided the Citizens into *Pagi* or *Villages*, according to the Grounds they possessed, and appointed a *Curio* or Inspector over each Division, who was to make his report immediately to *Numa* himself, that he might encourage the diligent Husbandman, and punish the lazy. Thus he promoted the most wholesome and necessary of all Employments, and prevented the two great Causes of Vice, *Idleness* and *Want*.

I would not, however, be understood to assert, that these two Kings had deliberately framed a *complete Plan* of the *Roman Constitution*; that they had defined the Nature and Ends of the several Offices, had prescribed their Powers, and *finished the Design*; far from it: the great Fabric of the *Roman Polity* was not reared at once. It assumed its august Form by slow Degrees. It was after many Changes made in the principal Parts, and Trials taken of the new Regulations, that it first attained its just Proportion; and afterwards, when taught by Misfortunes and hardened by Toils, that it arrived at its full Pitch of manly Strength ²⁸. The Additions therefore and Alter-

²⁸ Ρωμαῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν τέλος ταῦτὸ πεποίηται τῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι

ations made in the government after these two Princes, were brought about in the same manner, by the natural Working and Fermentation of the several Bodies that composed the Common Wealth, as the Fuel for their Passions increased, that is, according to the Advances they made in Wealth and Dominion.

Neither the private Fortunes of the subsequent Princes, nor those of the Public under their Administration, are so material for understanding the *Roman* Constitution, as to require a particular Discussion. It is sufficient to know, that during a Succession of five other Kings, who governed for the Space of one hundred and sixty-three Years, the City was still increasing; public Buildings were raised, its Territories enlarged, and, under the Reign of Tarquin the Proud, the last of the Kings, its Inhabitants were prepared for throwing off the Yoke, by being made to feel the Pressure of a Tyranny.

I. *Tullus Hostilius* was a warlike Prince, who defeated the Veientes and Sabines, incorporated the Albans into *Rome*, assigned them the Celian Hill for their Habitation, and tore their perfidious General *Metius Fufetius* between four Horses.

II. *Ancus Martius*, peaceable and pious, was a Grandson of *Numa* by a Daughter; his Father

κατασάσεως, ὃ μὴν διὰ λόγῃς διὰ δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων,
ἐξ αὐτῆς αἰεὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις ἐπιγνώσεως αἰρούμενοι τὸ βέλτιον,
οὕτως ἦλθον ἐπὶ ταῦτό μὲν Λυκούργῳ τέλος, κάλλιστον δὲ σύστημα
τῶν κατ' ἡμᾶς Πολιτειῶν.

Πολυβίου. Ἱστορ. βιβ. 5.

unknown. He wrote out *Numa's* Laws, and published them in the Forum; built a Bridge over the *Tiber*, and led a Colony to *Ostia*, which made *Rome* a Sea-port. He conquered several of the *Latine* Tribes, and increased the City, like *Romulus*, by transplanting them into the *Aventine* Hill.

III. *Tarquinius Priscus*, rich, political, and magnificent; he designed the *Circus Maximus*, walled a part of the City with hewed Stone, began the great Work of the Common Sewers, laid out the Ground for the *Capitol*, and took *Collatia* and its Territory from the Sabines.

IV. *Servius Tullius*, moderate, wise and eloquent, the Son of *Ocrisia* a Captive, born in *Tarquinius Priscus's* House, married his Daughter, and succeeded him in the Kingdom. He first courted the People to balance the Nobility, brought in the *Agrarian* Laws, instituted the *Pagi*, invented the admirable Regulations of the *Census*, which made the Management of a great Empire plain and regular like that of a private Family; and by its means put a check upon the power of the lower *Populace*, by dividing the Centuries, one hundred and ninety-three in number, into six Classes, the first and richest whereof made a Majority of the People: He built the *Esquiliæ*, reduced *Tuscany*, assembled the grand Council of the *Latin-Name*, renounced the Royal Right to judge in private Causes; and had thoughts of laying down the Royalty itself, or of associating another in it, upon the Model of *Sparta*, whence he was sprung.

V. *Tarquinius Superbus*, haughty and tyrannical, murdered the good *Servius* his Father-in-law, seized the Kingdom by violence, despised the Senate, oppressed the People with servile Work, built the Capitol, dug the great Sewer, overcame the *Gabians* by the Treachery of his Son *Sextus Tarquinius*, who ravished *Lucretia*, and occasioned the Abolition of the Royalty.

But though it be not necessary to enter into a more particular Detail of these Transactions, there are some peculiarly happy Circumstances in the rising Fate of *Rome*, which deserve our Attention, as they seem to have had no small Share in her future Glory. And first it was the great Good-fortune of the *Romans*, that the Founder of their State was obliged to use his new Subjects so tenderly, and make such a Division of his Power with them, as to lay the Foundation of their *Liberties*, and consequently of all their After-greatness. Under him the People got such a Taste of Independency, that the wisest of the following Princes did not venture to encroach upon their Rights, and when the Attempt upon them was made at last by the *Tarquins*, it ended in the Ruin and Extirpation of their Family.

As for the *Patricians*, they had from the beginning born a great Sway in the Administration, and were in a manner let into the Secret of Government by the *Inter-regnums*, whose long Continuances, and constant Return after the Death of every King, both showed the Kingdom to be elective, and discovered no small Propensity among

among the Fathers to exercise the supreme Power. It was on these Occasions, that by a political Division of themselves into *Tens*, with the Royal Authority vested in each Ten for five Days, they gave, in my Opinion, an evident Proof of their *being no indolent thoughtless Race, accustomed to bow tamely to a Superior*; but a keen hardy Set of Men, taught by Experience and Dangers what it was to govern, and be governed, without being either Tyrants or Slaves.

Another Piece of the *Roman* Good - fortune, was to have a *religious Lawgiver* for their second King: One who made a *proper Provision* for the Demands of human Nature, with respect to Objects of *Terror and Adoration*, and who had the grand Art of *guiding* these predominant Passions, and turning the Exercise of them to the Service of the State. This he did by a Set of solemn Rites, which persuaded the *Romans*, happily for themselves and the Public, “ That they and it were
“ under the particular Protection of Heaven; and
“ that if they continued in the devout Practice of
“ that Model of Worship, the Gods would still
“ prove propitious, would raise their City to be
“ the *Head of the World* and make *Rome* give
“ Laws to the most distant Nations. ”

But the most remarkable Circumstance in the early Fate of the *Roman* State, was the *Duration* of the Regal Period: It lasted while they were young and helpless, as it ceased when they were able to take care of themselves. A small Misfortune is sufficient to bring utter Ruin upon a feeble

new-formed Society; such as the Diffension or Delays frequent in the Proceedings of large Assemblies; and while the *Romans* were in that tender Condition, the supreme Power was fortunately lodged in a single Person, whose Honor and Interest it was to protect them: But as soon as they were tolerably settled, and no longer in hazard of being shaken by such Accidents, then, and not till then, were their *Masters* removed, and room given to the Emulation and Virtues of the Citizens to exert themselves in their own and their Country's Cause.

For now, instead of a mixed Multitude of Fugitives, suddenly called together, and easily dispersed²⁹, here was, in almost two Centuries and a half that the City had stood, a *regular well-disciplined Nation*: There was a bold, industrious and warlike People; an active, experienced, and uneffeminate Nobility; a high Opinion of the *Roman* State, and a firm Persuasion of the Favor and Assistance of Heaven for its Prosperity.

This happy Change in the State of the *Roman* Affairs, the Effect of such a Chain of Accidents as we have deduced, seems to have paved the Way for the swift advances they afterwards made to Conquest and Empire; and when we join to it their *Situation*, among so many hostile Nations, and the *warlike Education*, if I may so call it, of their own State, it prevents our being surprised when we come to the Consular-Period, at such a Display of military and political Virtue, as has not its Parallel in *History*.

²⁹ Brevi, multitudo diversa atque vaga, concordia Civitas facta est. Cicero apud Augustin. Ep. 8.

BOOK II.

I HAVE met with abundance of Men, Persons of good Judgment in other respects, and for the most part of some Experience in Affairs, who affect a kind of *Scepticism* in Politics. They entertain an Opinion, that the *Form* of a Government contributes but little to animate the People, or to give them that noble Spirit which distinguishes a Nation, and makes them shine above their Neighbours. But as the Argument will not bear reasoning, from the Nature of the Thing, “*that one Constitution may not be better than another,*” they support their Opinion with Instances: France, for example, they say, has produced greater Men, and sent forth more powerful Armies of late, than ever she did when in full possession of her Privileges: while the Venetian Republic, in an uninterrupted course of Liberty, hires foreign Troops to protect her, pays a foreign General to command them, and scarcely produces a great Captain, or exalted Genius, a Native of *Venice*, in an Age.

In order to *account* fully for this Prodigy, it would be necessary to deduce a great part of the History of these Countries; and to show, ‘How, under contrary Names, a tyrannical enslaving Rule hath prevailed in the one, though called a

‘ *Commonwealth* ; and that the other has been in
 ‘ many respects, *free* under an arbitrary Govern-
 ‘ ment. ’ But this is not the proper Place for
 such a Deduction : Whoever reads the History of
 the *two* States with Attention, will find, that first
 the constant Wars which *France* waged with *Eng-
 land*, and then their own *civil* Wars, which raged
 for five Kings Reigns, formed the *Soldiery* ¹ ; and
 that the general *Civility* of *Manners*, and *Forms* of
Justice originally introduced by their now abolished
 or despised Laws, stand them *instead* of a Consti-
 tution ². Civil War is a sort of *military Liberty* :
 and a prevalent Custom is a *Law without a Sanction*.

France has many natural Advantages, which
 require great Abuse of Power and vast Misrule to

¹ From the Time of *Francis II.* to the Reign of *Lewis XIII.*
 including 60 Years.

“ ² Ce lieu & souverain Parlement—a été toujours des-
 “ tiné pour les *Affaires* publiques, & vérification des Edits
 “ — & fut trouvé bon que les volontés générales de nos
 “ Rois, n’obtinssent point lieu d’Edits sinon qu’elles eussent
 “ été vérifiées & homologuées en ce lieu. ” *And a little*
before, “ En ce lieu se décidoient toutes *Affaires* qui
 “ importaient quelque conséquence au Royaume : étoient
 “ reçues par le Roi les Fois & Hommages des Princes
 “ étrangers : — étoient semblablement homologuées les vo-
 “ lontés du Roi, c’est à savoir celles qui concernoient le
 “ Fait général de la France : — En ce lieu de même
 “ façon se terminoient les différens des plus grands Prin-
 “ ces, & principalement de ceux qui étoient accusés de
 “ Trahisons & Rebellions, & Crimes de Lèse-Majesté. ”

Pasquier Recherches de la France, Liv. II. ch. II & III.

overmatch and crush them: It is a wide fertile Kingdom; a Climate always famed for a numerous martial Breed; its Inhabitants are ingenious and active; and though it be neither *Law* nor *Justice* (which their Princes trample upon at pleasure) but *Precedent*, and a kind of *Political Humanity* that protects them from the Ravages of absolute Power, yet, in effect, they *are* frequently protected, and, under a tolerable Administration, enjoy several of the Blessings of a better State. It is true *they lie at mercy*; and a King of France may cut off a Subject's Head, and seize his Estate, with as much Impunity as his sublime Highness the *Grand Signior*; as the late *Lewis XIV.* with equal Cruelty and Folly, murdered and banished many thousands of his most industrious Subjects. But it is not so *usual* in the one Country as in the other; it wanted some Pretence like Religion, and would else be an *unpolite* if not an *illegal* thing, in the most Christian King to do it.

As for the most serene Republic, it is long since the *Corruption* of Manners that overspread Italy, and high Luxury, the Effect of immense Wealth, first enfeebled their State. This is an Evil against which they made no Provision; as indeed it is the hardest thing in the World to make it effectually. It was brought upon them by their early Prosperity, when, after a cruel Struggle with the *Genoese*, and humbling the Pride of *Pisa*, they remained Masters of the Mediterranean; the *Persian* and *Indian* Trade passed then through their

Hands³, and the Commodities of these Countries were dispersed by *Venetian* Merchants over all the western World. Venice became the *Mart of Europe*, and drew incredible Sums for the yearly Returns of her Merchandize from the richest Cities, and most flourishing Kingdoms around her. Then it was that she raised her Spirits, formed Designs upon the Liberties of *Italy*⁴, seized upon many

³ *Sola la Reina del Mar d'Adria volta
De l'Oriente a le Provincie, ai Regni,
Da le Discordie altrui libera e sciolta,
Ruminava sedendo alti Disegni,
E gran parte di Grecia avea gia tolta
Di mano a gli empì Usurpatori indegni.*

Tassone *Secchia Rapita*. Cant. I. § iv.

⁴ *Mà i Vinitiani aspirando al Dominio di tutta la Romagna, havevano mandati dopo la morte d'Alessandro, molti Soldati a Ravenna, co' quali una notte all'improvviso assaltarono con grande Impeto la Città di Cesena. — E credibile, che nel Senato non mancassino di quei medesimi che havevano già dissuaso l'implicarsi nelle cose di Pisa, il ricever in pegno i Porti del Reame di Napoli, ed il divider col Rè di Francia il ducato di Milano — Ma essendo stati i Consigli ambiziosi favoriti da Successi tanto felici, e però spigate tutte le Vele al Vento sì prospero della Fortuna, non erano uditi.*

F. Guicciardini, *Hist. d'Italia*, Lib. VI.

⁵ *Haver i Padri loro ed esse successivamente atteso in tutte le Occasioni ampliar l'Imperio Veneto con scoperta Professione di aspirare sempre a Cose maggiori: — pochi mesi indietro si proponevano nell'animo lo Imperio di tutta Italia: and afterwards, I Venitiani procedendo con grandissima Ambizione, posposti rispetti della Giustizia, e della osservanza della Fede, ed occupando*

Towns, and resolved to tread in the same Steps as ancient *Rome* had done before.

But in the midst of her high Thoughts, it happened that the Portuguese, in the Course of their Navigation along the Coast of *Africa*, doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, opened another Route to the Indies, and brought the Treasures of the *East* in an easier Method to the western Parts of Europe. This was no sooner done than the

*‘ tutto quello diche se gl’ offeriva l’occasione, havevano
‘ scopertamente cercato di sottoporfi tutta Italia: Le
‘ quali cose facevano, universalmente molto odioso il Nome
‘ loro, odioso ancora più per la Fama che risuonava
‘ per tutto d’ell’Alterezza naturale a quella Nazione.’*

Idem, Lib. VIII.

This cape was first discovered (in modern times) by Bartholomew Diaz, a Portuguese, sent by John II. King of Portugal, in the Year 1487, who sailed 140 Leagues beyond it. Afterwards passed in November 1497 by Vasco de Gama, with a Fleet, sent by Emanuel, John’s Successor.

*‘ Parece que guardava o claro Céu
‘ A Manoel e seus merecimentos
‘ Esta empresa tam ardua, que o movéo
‘ A subidos e illustres movimentos:
‘ Manoel que a Joanne succedéo
‘ N’o Reyno, e n’os altivos pensamentos
‘ Logo como tomou do Reyno cargo,
‘ Tomou mais a conquista do mar largo.*

Camoens, *Lusiados*, Canto IV. Est. 66.

*‘ Tutti questi Paesi dell’ India Orientale sono ricchi ed
importanti molto; e di là sogliono venir ogni Anno a
Portogallo le Navi cariche di Zuccari, Specie, Droghe e
Gioie, e molte altre cose preziose, e di gran Valore.*

Coneftaggio *Histor. di Portogallo.*

Venetians felt a sudden Change, like a River turned into another Channel, their Markets were deserted; the Source of their Wealth was dried up, and a final Stop was put to the Increase of their Dominion. They had been always a *trading People*⁷, whose Strength consisted in their Command of *Money*, and *Power at Sea*; to both which this Discovery, so happy for the rest of Europe, was a Blow not to be recovered.

About the same time, the *Spaniards*, having made the Discovery and Conquest of *America*, and brought their commerce with it to a considerable Bearing, fetched from thence a good many of the Wares with which the Venetian Merchants used formerly to supply us, and completed the ruin of their foreign Trade⁸. These concurring Accidents, which no domestic Liberty, or Form of Government could prevent, first brought down the Venetian Grandeur, by under-

⁷ I Veneziani, prima Mercatanti, possenti nel Mare, havendo col tempo occupato Padova, Vicenza, Trevigi; e di poi Verona, Bergamo, e Brescia; e nel Reame (di Napoli) ed in Romagna molte città, cacciati dalla cupidità del dominare, vennero in tanta opinione di potenza che non solamente ai Principi Italiani, ma ai Rè oltramontani erano in terrore.

N. Macchiavel. Hist. Fior. Lib. I.

⁸ Venecia, Ciudad que a no aver nacido Colon en el mundo, no tuviera en el semejante: Merced al Cielo y al gran Hernando Cortés, que conquistó la gran Mexico. para que la gran Venecia tuviesse en alguna manera quien se le opusiesse.

Novelas Exemplar. de Cervantes. Novel. V.

mining the Foundations on which it was built. But what has chiefly contributed to damp the Spirits of the Citizens, and make them so dastardly, is a *Canker* in the Bosom of the Constitution; I mean the almost absolute Power of the Dieci, or Council of *Ten*, who have the Life and Death of every Venetian in their Disposal. They are a Sort of *State-Inquisitors*; and may send for any Senator or Subject of the Common-wealth, and commit him to a Dungeon⁹, out of which perhaps he never returns, without his Family or Friends once daring to find fault with, or even *inquire* into their Procedure¹. They are looked upon by the governing Cabal of the Nobility, as the great Prop of their Power, and are the Terror of all the rest of the Nation. But while they are posses-

⁹ *Sopraggiunto d'improvviso fui imprigionato; ne in corto Viaggio di terra scorse la opportunità d'alcuno Strapazzo, poichè in quello delle Acque dovevo con maggior Verità figurarmi il Tragetto di Caronte, ed il Passaggio all'onde Stigie. Non fui strascinato da un Tribunale all' altro, acciò che fossi privo di goder anche quel poco di Felicità ch'arrecarmi potevano alcuni brevi momenti di Luce: o pure, a fine di tormi totalmente ogni Speranza di Giustificazione—And afterwards, Queste Prigioni possono chiamarsi vivi Sepolcri, e per l'angustia loro, e per la profondità del Sito, e per le tenebre continuamente durevoli.*

Lettera di F. Pallavicino.

¹ *Il Consiglio de' Dieci, tremendo Braccio, destinato a severa ed indifferente criminal Giustizia, contra principalmente la Gravità de' Casi, e la Violenza de' Prepotenti.*

Verdizzotti de' Fatti Veneti. Lib. XI.

sed of this exorbitant Jurisdiction, the Venetian Government, call it *aristocratical*, or what you please, can never pass for a *truly free Constitution*: *That*, by an infallible Rule, can never exist, where the *sole Will* of the Magistrate who executes the Law is itself a *Law* to the Subject: Nor does it in that case import so much, whether that lawless Power be exercised by one or by many. The *thirty*, nay the *four thousand Tyrants* at *Athens*, domineered as imperiously, and banished and butchered as cruelly as those single Monsters *Dionysius* or *Nero* did afterwards.

The Power therefore of the *Dieci*, or Council of *Ten* at *Venice*, is a piece of as genuine Tyranny² prevailing in the State, as ever their Brethren of equal number, the *Decemvirs*, formerly exercised at *Rome*. It cannot fail of depressing that noble generous Spirit, which is inseparable from legal *Right* and Independency. A Man who lives under the Awe of that tremendous Court, and falls into a trembling Fit at the Sight of one of their *Sbirri*

² *Il tremendo Tribunale de' Capi de' Dieci, ed il supremo Magistrato degli Inquisitori di Stato, con tre sole Palle di Tela, con facilità incredibile, sepellivano vivo qualsivoglia Cesare, qualsisia Pompeo, che vedevano scuoprirsi in quella ben ordinata Repubblica.*

Boccalini Ragguagl. V.

Φοβόμενοι δὲ ἄρχων, ἀρχόμενοι, ἔτε καλόν, ἔτε πλέστιον, ἔτε ἰσχυρόν, ἔτε ἀνδρείον, ἔτε τοπαράπαν πολεμικόν ἐκὼν εἴσει γίνεσθαι πόλε.

Πλάτωνος Νόμων, Η.

or Tipstafs, can have few public-spirited Views; and must look coldly upon the Concerns of a Community, whose chief Power is his chief Dread, and, of consequence, his sincere Abhorrence.

For Liberty, the most manly and exalting of the Gifts of Heaven, consists in a free and generous Exercise of all human Faculties, as far as they are compatible with the Good of the Society to which we belong: And the most delicious Part of the Enjoyment of the inestimable Blessing lies in a *Consciousness that we are free*. This happy Persuasion, when it meets with a noble Nature, raises the Soul and rectifies the Heart: It gives Dignity to the Countenance, and animates every Word and Gesture: It elevates the Mind above the little Arts of Deceit; makes it benevolent, open, ingenuous and just, and adds a new Relish to every better Sentiment of *Humanity*.

The *Man* therefore who is fully persuaded, that while he lives uprightly and innocently, the Laws and Constitution of his Country will protect him, acquires a chearful Confidence both in speaking and acting: He repays the Security not only of his Life and Property, but of the true *Taste* and *Enjoyment* of Life, with sincere Endeavours to promote its Prosperity: He improves the Strength of every natural Tie, such as Birth, Estate, Family and Friends, and redoubles his Affection to their common Guardian the *Constitution*.

But, if, by any fatal Reverse, his *Trust* in the Laws be destroyed; if, on the contrary, he be

conscious, “ That he lies at the Mercy of another
 “ Man, or of a Set of Men who may imprison
 “ him, banish him, hang him, and do with him
 “ and his Family what they please with Impunity,”
 how dismal is the Turn that comes upon the
 Temper of the Mind? If his Station give him
 Access, and his Spirit be equal to the Attempt,
 no doubt he will do his utmost to pull down the
 enormous Power. But if that be out of his Reach,
 and he must bend his Neck to the Yoke, from
 that Hour he changes both in his Sentiments and
 Conduct; he turns cautious and fearful³, and by
 degrees, selfish, disingenuous and dastardly:
 Every Word must now be weighed, lest it offend
 his *Masters*; every public Action set about with a
 thousand *Egards*, (I must borrow a *slavish* Term,
 where our Language happily affords none) lest it
 give Umbrage, and draw upon him Death or
 Shame. The noble independent Spirit which shone
 in every Sentence of his Discourse is now evanished:
 No more quick and honest Decisions in favor of
 Right and Condemnation of Wrong, in what
 Person or Character soever they were found: No
 more of the former generous disinterested Procedure
 in his Friend's or Country's Cause; he loses his
 manly Look; his Abjectness increases with every
 Year of Slavery, and in the end he receives that
servile stamp in his Mind and Manners, which
 made the great Master of Life pronounce the

³ *Qui metuens vivet, liber mihi non erit unquam.*

Horat. Lib. I. Epist. xvii. ad Quintium.

memorable Sentence; "*That one Day of Servitude destroyed the better half of the human Soul**."

But still, notwithstanding of all their Disadvantages, I would ask, Whether any absolute Prince in Europe, with an equal Territory, has made such a Figure for the last four hundred Years, as the narrow Venetian Common-wealth has done? Or could any one of the petty Sovereigns of Italy have supported himself against so dreadful a Neighbour, maintained such an obstinate Struggle, or retrieved so desperate a Game as they have often been forced to play? It is the *Field*, and *inland Wars* that form Soldiers, and give a Reputation for arms, which their Situation forbids; as the martial *Swiss* are forbid by theirs to have Ships and Seamen. No wise man imagines, that a *free Constitution* is either a sufficient Remedy for every Misfortune that may befall a State, (else no free State had ever come to Ruin) or that Liberty gives those Qualities to Men which their Situation in the Nature of Things denies: It is sufficient, if, in the same Circumstances of Affairs, it give a *glorious Pre-eminence*.

What greater Proof can we have of it than the present Condition of the *modern Italians*? They are at this Day a sagacious People, and have a *Keeness* and *Constancy of Temper* peculiar to themselves: They are strong nervous Bodies of

* Το ημισυ της ψυχης αφαιρεται δουλιον ημας.

Ομηρος.

† The Ottoman Empire.

Men⁶, able to undergo great Fatigues, and to endure the fiercest Changes of Heat and Cold, of any *European* Nation. The nice Judges of Climates think that *Italy* has the proper Temperature of *Air* and *Soil*, for producing the strongest Passions to be constant, and the robustest Bodies, to be capable of bearing the Extremes of a sultry or frozen Clime⁷.

It is a vast *Peninsula*, which declines from the North to the South-east, running between thirty-eight and forty-six degrees of Latitude, and is washed on the east by the upper or *Adriatic*, and on the west by the *Thyrrhene* or *Tuscan* Sea. Almost quite down the Middle of it runs the

⁶ Διαφέρει μὲν ἔν ης φύτει πάντες Ἰταλιῶται Φοινίκων ἢ Λιβύων, τῇ τε σωματικῇ ῥώμῃ ἢ ταῖς ψυχικαῖς τόλμαις· μεγάλην δὲ ἢ διὰ τῶν ἐθισμῶν πρὸς τῷτο τὸ μέγεθος ποιεῖνται τῶν νέων παρόρμησιν.

Πολυβίου Ἱστορ. βιβ. 5^ο.

⁷ Omnes Nationes, quæ vicinæ sunt Soli, nimio calore ficcatas, amplius quidem sapere, sed minus habere sanguinis dicunt, ac propterea Constantiam atque Fiduciam communis non habere pugnandi. Contra septentrionales Populi, remoti a solis ardoribus, inconsultiores quidem, sed tamen largo sanguine redundantes, sunt ad bella promptissimi. Tyrones igitur de temperationibus legendi sunt plagis, quibus & copia sanguinis suppetat ad vulnerum mortisque contemptum, & non desit prudentia, quæ & modestiam fervat in castris, et non parum prodest in dimicatione consiliis.

Fl. Vegetii de re militari, Lib. XI.

Ridge of the *Appennine Mountains**, which produce Stone and Timber for every kind of use, plenty of Pasture for small Cattle, and pour down on either hand many a delightful Stream into the lower Country: The *Arno*, the *Tiber*, the *Liris* and *Vulturnus* on one Side; and besides the impetuous *Po*°, which, taking its Rise among the *Alps*, glides through the Vale of *Piemont*, and then wanders through the rich Plain of *Lombardy*; there is the *Metaurus*, the *Aternus*, and the rapid *Aufidus* upon the other, with many a River of inferior note, which water the Fields, moisten the Meads, and gladden the Pastures to the Brink of the Shore. Upon the Declivities, where the Skirts of the Mountains begin to break into little Hills and sloping Plains, lie the Olive and Vineyard Soils, famed for *Messapian* Oil, and the *Albanian*, *Falernian* and *Calenian* Wines. Below them *Pomona* reigns with a Profusion of Fruit of every Species, which Art and Culture can scarce obtain in less happy Climes: As you still descend into the level Country, the rich arable Lands lie in great Tracts; such as the *Campania* of Rome, and the *Capuan* and *Laborian* Fields: and where the Ground is still more depressed and marshy, as about *Velia* and *Minturnæ*, the Meadows are

* Apenninus Mons, Italiæ amplissimus, perpetuis jugis ab Alpibus tendens ad Siculum fretum.

Plinii Nat. Lib. III. § v.

° ————— Quo non per pinguia culta
In mare purpureum violentior defluit amnis.

Virgil.

stretched out, fit for Horses, and Pasturage of large Cattle. So that *Italy*, however rich in Grain, is not a mere Corn-country, like the lower *Egypt*, the Plains of *Babylon*, or the *Barbary Coast*; nor, though abounding with Fruit and Forest-trees, is it covered with Woods like *Pontus*, and ancient *Gaul*; nor, though flowing with Wine and Oil, does it want Pasture and Forage, like the South of *France*, and greater Part of *Spain*, but joining all these Productions to every other of Fish and Fowl, Metals and Minerals, fit for the Necessity and Elegancy of Life; it is the most fertile *self-supported Country* in Europe, in whose Heart it lies.

This *Variety* of its Soil and Climate produces all the Characters fitted to these Soils¹, from the luxurious lazy Neapolitan to the laborious Genoese, or hardy Inhabitant of the Apennine Hills. Two Evidences among many, *that the Nature of the Natives is not wholly changed*, are pretty remarkable.

About the Year 1324, under the Papacy of Clement VI. and the Reign of the Emperor Ludowick VI. of Germany, Nicolas of Lorenzo was Chancellor of the Capitol at *Rome*, and a very popular Man. Upon some Disgust taken against the Senators, who were generally the Pope's

¹ Βελομένως δὲ τὰς Πέρτας ἀντὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ἕως ὁρευνῆς καὶ τραχείας, πεδιάδα καὶ μαλακὴν χώραν λαβὼν, ἐκ εἶπεν· εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ εἶοι ταῖς χώραις συνεξομοιοῦνται.

Creatures, he, with the Assistance of the People, banished them from *Rome*, and took the Government into his own Hands, under the Title of Tribune, and *Head of the Roman Republic*. He reduced it to the ancient Form, and governed with so great Reputation of Justice and Valor, that not only the neighbouring Towns, but all Italy sent him Embassies: In so much that the Provinces of the old Common-wealth, beholding their *Metropolis* once more resume its pristine Dignity, raised their Spirits; and, partly through Dread of his Arms, partly through Hopes of a better Condition, all honored the rising Tribune. But his Courage was not equal to his Fortune; it failed at the Sight of the Height on which he stood: So that, turning dastardly under the Weight of his own Power, he abandoned himself, when honored and supported by his People; and without the least Force or Danger, fled privately to *Charles* King of Bohemia, who sent him back loaded with Chains to the Pope².

The other remarkable Proof of the Temper of the Natives, and what kind of Men they are still capable of being made, is, that the Italian Regiments were among the best Troops in that noble Army which the great *Prince of Parma*, commanded in the *Netherlands*: The Reputation of the *Spanish* Infantry was then at its Height³: Yet

² N. Machiavelli. Hist. Fiorent. Lib. I.

³ Questo Fatto espresso sin dalla bocca del Rè medesimo (Henrico IV.) Che non erano altri soldati nel mondo che

were the *Italian Troops* always employed in the most dangerous Services, where a steady inflexible Courage was necessary: They were called upon in the Hour of Distress to *retrieve* a desperate Business, or prevent a fatal Break ⁴.

It is true, they were all Men long trained, and well paid, sure of Caresses and Preferment, when they did a single Service; and full of a Soldier's Assurance of Conquest and Pleasure under their loved *Leader* and Countryman: But let it be remembered, that they were *modern Italians*, levied in the States of *Urbino*, *Parma*, *Genoa*, and the *Church* ⁵, who, to my Apprehension, gave Proof that the Natives of that unhappy Country are of the same Cast and Materials as near two thousand Years ago, when they were conquering the World by their Bravery and Virtue, but are so disfigured and debased by their present *priestly*

haveffero saputo far tanto; che s'Egli haveffe questa *Fanteria* Spagnuola congiunta coi suoi *Cavalli*, oserebbe intraprendere guerra con l'universo.

Davila, Guerre civili di Francia, Lib. XV.

⁴ Vid. *Farnian. Strada* de Bello Belgico, Decad. II. Lib. IV. in fine, & Lib. VI. ibid. & Lib. VII. ibid. sed præcipue, Decad. I. Lib. ult.

⁵ Has suppleturus legiones *Alexander*, ad legenda per *Italiam* minimum quatuor hominum millia, *Blasium Capi-succum* virum militiæ impigrum interritumque misit cum literis ad *Xystum Pontificem*, ad *Genuensium Remp.* atque ad *Urbinatium ducem*, ut suis in provinciis delectus haberi ne gravarentur.

F. Strada, de Bello Belgico, Decas II. Lib. IX.

Discipline, and *ecclesiastical* Culture, that they make the best *Friars*, and the worst *Soldiers* in Christendom *.

Let us cast an Eye backwards upon the State of the World, and take a View of the History of the Nations that have made or attempted to make a Figure upon the mighty Stage : Let us think *what* it was that raised them to Power and Splendor, and enabled them to give Laws to all the People around them ? We shall find, that it was private Temperance, and a *hardy* Life, for the most part the Child of *Necessity* : and *public Order*, and a *severe Discipline*, occasioned by the Diffensions at home, and Dangers from a foreign Enemy : In a word, it was Manners and a Constitution, mutually forming and supporting one another, that made every thing bow before them †. Thus the *Egyptians* of early Times, thus the *Medes* and *Persians*, thus the *Greeks*, and particularly the *Lacedemonians*, conquered each the neighbouring Nations : and each maintained their Conquests while they continued in the Practice of these *commanding Virtues*.

Let us consider, on the other hand, *what* it was that made these same Nations lose the superior Spirit, become crazy and feeble, and bow to a

* Le Genti della Chiesa, *Infamia della Milizia*, secondo il volgarissimo proverbio.

F. Guicciardin. *Histor. d'Italia*, Lib. VIII.

† Ούτε γὰρ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις, τῶν ὀλίγων, ἔτε ταῖς δυστυχίαις τῶν πολλῶν ἕτερόν τι ἢ τὸ τῆς πόλεως Σχημα ὑπάρχειν αἴτιον.

Διονυσ. Ἀλικαρν. Ἀρχαιολ. βιβ. β.

Conqueror in their turn? We shall find it was *private Luxury*, and a lazy effeminate Life, (the Effect of Wealth) which never fails to entail *public Disorder*, and Breach of Constitution: And in particular, to bring the matter closer home, *What* was it that made that mixed contemptible Colony settled by *Romulus*, become populous, warlike, just; conquer its Neighbours, and grow to a great Empire? Why did not *Alba*, the *Sabines*, the *Samnites*, the *Tuscans* do the same before? Why have not the more mighty Cities and States who have made the same Attempts since met with the same Success? It was the Roman Manners and Constitution: They were *Men* like others; inferior in Strength, in Numbers, in Science, in Wealth, to many nations with whom they fought; but superior to all by their *public Discipline* and *private Virtue*.

The destined Hour was now come, when *Rome* was to be made thoroughly *free*, and rendered capable of producing the Masters of Mankind. For five-and-twenty Years the Citizens had borne with an illegal oppressive Government, and groaned under the Hardships put upon them by the haughty *Tarquin*; but none of them had formed any Design of rescuing their Country, except one noble Youth, whose Father and Brother the Tyrant had killed, and who, for fear of the same Fate, was long obliged to dissemble both his Resentment and Capacity.

L. Junius Brutus was one of those manly Spirits who ripen slowly, and appear raw and lumpish in

the first Stage of their Life : such was *Cimon* the Athenian General, such was *T. Manlius*, the son of *L. Manlius Imperiosus*, such was Bocaccio's *Cimone*, and such our brave *Richard Cœur de Lion*. But when Men of that Temper come to Maturity, and their Faculties have attained their full Strength and *native Tone*, they act with incredible Constancy and Vigor. No Dangers deter them, no Difficulties outweary them, nor threatening Accidents in the Course of an Affair make them abandon a fixed Resolution. Such was this great Patriot, who saw with Indignation the *Roman Privileges* trampled upon by that domineering Family; and under a Masque of *affected Stupidity*, waited with Impatience for an Opportunity to deliver his Country, and chastise the Oppressors.

It offered at last; and fairer than he could have expected. A Rape was committed by *Sextus Tarquinius*, the Tyrant's eldest Son, upon a noble Lady, the famed *Lucretia*; and the Indignity of the Crime was exceedingly heightened by the exasperating Circumstance of her Death. The day after she had suffered Shame, she called a solemn Meeting of her Relations, related the cruel Injury she had received, and having conjured them with her last Breath *to revenge her upon the Ruffian*, before any Hand could interpose to hinder the Blow, she stabbed herself to the Heart in their Presence.

Among the amazed and mournful Company was *Junius Brutus* : But he, instead of standing

to bewail in fruitless Complaints the fair one's unhappy Fate, snatched up the Dagger streaming with her Blood, and holding it aloft, swore a sacred Oath, *To avenge her injured Innocence, and pursue the Tyrant with Fire and Sword, until he had utterly extirpated him and his lawless Family.* The great Men who were present (and the greatest in the Senate were *Lucretia's* or her Husband's Relations) took each the fatal Dagger in his turn, and followed *Brutus's* Example. After this they went in a Body to the *Forum*, and exposed the Corpse, bloody as it was, to public View. The People immediately flocked about it, and were filled with Rage and Indignation at the Sight of so piteous an *Object*, and much more by hearing, that she had been driven to die, *because she could not bear the Thought of living with Infamy.*

Then it was that, to their no small Surprise, the hitherto disesteemed *Brutus* first discovered that high Capacity and superior Courage, which fitted him for conducting so great an Undertaking. In a Strain of masculine Eloquence, animated by his Resentment, ' he first reminded the People of
' the unnatural Murder of the good *Servius* their
' great Benefactor; and the violent Usurpation of
' the Throne by his ungracious Son-in-law, their
' present *King*; he set forth the open Violations
' of their most sacred privileges from the very
' Beginning of his Reign, and recounted the daily
' Indignities done both to the Senate and to *them.*' Then turning to the pale Corpse of the abused

Lady, he painted the Blackness of the Crime in such odious Colors, that the People, long ago ripe for a Revolt, cried out with one Voice, *To arm, and lead them against the Tarquins.*

But *Brutus*, though extremely delighted with the Acclamation, thought fit to restrain their Impetuosity: he told them how necessary it was to proceed regularly and legally in so important an Enterprize: and therefore having first divided them into their *Tribes*, as was usual at the solemn Elections, he proposed the famous Decree, which they as eagerly passed, *To deprive Tarquin the proud of the Kingdom, and banish him and his Posterity from ROME for ever* *. The Senate was next called, which, as it was the chief Obstacle in the Tyrant's Way, had been the chief Object of his Hatred, and suffered most at his Hands: The leading Men, who had the greatest Influence in it, were *Sp. Lucretius* the unhappy Lady's Father, *Lucius Collatinus* her Husband, and *Pub. Valerius*, called afterwards *Poplicola*: all embarked in the same design with *Brutus*, and zealous for a Revolution. They ratified the Act of *Deprivation* and *Banishment* passed by the People, without Delay; and such was the Spirit of *Liberty*, and

* *Exacti Reges Lege Tribunicia.* — *Iisdem temporibus & Tribunum Celerum fuisse constat: Is autem erat qui Equitibus præerat, & veluti secundum locum a Regibus obtinebat; quo in numero fuit Junius Brutus, qui Auctor fuit Regis ejiciendi.*

Abhorrence of *arbitrary Power*, that prevailed among all Ranks, that not long after, both the Senate and People met in a Grand Assembly, and bound themselves by an OATH, accompanied with terrible Imprecations, *Never to admit a King to reign over the Romans.*

While these Things were transacting with great Ardor and Resolution at *Rome*, the haughty *Tarquin*, entirely ignorant of what had happened, was lying with the Army before *Ardea*, a neighbouring Town he had besieged for the sake of its Wealth, and had been forced, by its gallant Resistance, to turn the Siege into a Blockade. Upon the first News brought to him of the Commotion, he left the Army and hastened to the City, that he might crush the Beginnings of any Design formed against his Power: But he was denied Entrance at the City Gates, at the same time that *Brutus*, who had taken another Road on purpose to avoid him, arrived in the Camp; where he informed the Officers and Soldiery of the Decree of the *Senate and People*, was received as their *General*, and applauded as their *Deliverer*. An unanimous Revolution ensued; the Royalty was abolished; and the *Tarquins* lost the Kingdom without striking a Blow: They were deserted by the Nobility, the Commons, and the Army, and were forced to wander from Town to Town, first to *Cére*, then to *Tusculum*, and thence to *Cumæ*, where, after many fruitless Attempts to regain his Crown, *Tarquin the Proud* finished his inglorious Days, and has left a Memory hateful to Posterity.

Thus *began* the celebrated Consular Period, two hundred and forty-four Years from the founding of the State; the *Period* from which the wisest of the *Romans* date the full Exercise of their Liberty, the raising of their Spirits, the rousing of their Virtues, and a *Presensation* of all their future Greatness. Such an Encomium bestowed upon any Institution of Government by those who prospered under its Influence, and made a glorious Improvement of its Advantages, must naturally awake a Desire to know the *Origin* of the Institution, and by what Accidents, or by what Foresight the first Patriots of *Rome* were directed to the *Consular Scheme*.

Livy the Historian says expressly, that they took it from the *Memoirs* left by *Servius Tullius* their sixth King⁹; which may be partly true: That wise and popular Prince, who first introduced the great Source of Order, the *Census*, had Thoughts, as we have said, of securing his Throne against the Attacks of the *Tarquins*, by associating another with himself in the Royalty. It is very certain, there were great Resemblances between many of the *Peloponnesian* Customs, and those of the *Italic* Nations: The old wandering *Pelasgi*¹, the *Arca-*

⁹ *Duo Consules inde, comitiis centuriatis, a Præfecto Urbis, ex commentariis Servii Tullii creati sunt, L. Junius Brutus, & L. Tarquinius Collatinus.*

• T. Livii Histor. Lib. I.

¹ "Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πελασγῶν τινες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀναγκασθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν, σύννομοι γίνονται τοῖς Ἀδοριγίσι. — ἦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν

dians, Argives and Spartans, had all sent Colonies to *Magna Græcia*, or *Italy*, and no doubt, diffused their Manners and Methods of Government along with their People. Servius was immediately descended from one of the *Latin Tribes*: was thoughtful and learned, as those Times went², and might very probably hear of the Spartan Constitution, where *two Kings* exercised conjunctly the supreme Authority, and leave behind him a written Account of it among the other Regulations, which he introduced, or designed to introduce, into the *Roman State*³.

But I am apt to believe the Hurry of Affairs, and Agitation of Men's Minds in such a Revolution, left *Brutus* and the other Leaders little leisure to alter the established Model, but just in such Points

γένετο Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκ Πελοποννησου τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐχρήσατο δὲ τύχαις
δυσπότοις, εἰς πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, μάλιστα δ' εἰς τὴν πολὺπλανὸν
τε καὶ ἔδεντο τόπος βέβαιον οἰκῆσιν.

Διονυσ. Ἀλικαρν. βιβ. α.

² Magis est in *Romulo* admirandum, quod cæteri, qui *Dii ex Hominibus* facti esse dicuntur, minùs eruditis hominum sæculis fuerunt; ut fingendi proclivior esset ratio cum imperiti facile ad credendum impellerentur: *Romuli* autem ætatem, minùs his sexcentis annis, jam inveteratis literis atque doctrinis, omnique illo antiquo ex incultâ hominum vitâ errore sublato fuisse cernimus.

Cicero apud Augustin. de civit. Lib. XXII. § 6.

³ Nobis *Romulus* ad libitum imperitaverat: dein *Numa* religionibus & divino jure populum devinxit; repertaque quædam *Tullo* & *Anco*: sed præcipuus Servius Tullius sanctorum legum fuit quæis etiam Reges obtemperarent.

P. C. Tacit. Histor. Lib. III.

as were necessary to secure them from Apprehensions of another *Tyrant* in a *King*. For this reason they abolished the *Regal Name*, declared it an illegal and impious Appellation, and appointed *two supreme Magistrates*, as mutual Checks, who were to lay down their Authority, and become private Men, accountable for their Conduct at the end of the Year. This then was the *great Change* made in the Government; the Substitution of *two annual elective Magistrates*, who were to have the *Fasces*, and exercise the supreme Power alternatively by Months, instead of *one Sovereign* who reigned for Life; in other respects the Constitution remained almost the same it was before. It is true, this was a most material Branch of it; and the Alterations made in it prevented the Abuse of Power, secured the public Liberty, and tended mightily to the aggrandizing the Nation; but what I would insinuate is, that the general Plan of the government by a King, Nobles, and Commons, was not dissolved*; only the *Execution* of the Regal Part put into other Hands, with the Restrictions mentioned above: But as for the *Authority* and *Jurisdiction* of the Senate, and the *Power* and *Privileges* of the People, which their early free Spirit had happily procured to them from their first Kings, they found no present Necessity, and

* A primo Urbis ortu, Regiis Institutis, partim etiam Legibus, Auspiciis, Ceremoniis, Provocationes, Patrum Consilium, Equitum Peditumque Descriptio, tota res militaris divinitus constituta est.

M. T. Ciceron. Tusc. Lib. III.

had little time either to increase or alter them. The Security and Enjoyment of them was what they aimed at, and fully obtained.

Afterwards, indeed, when their Affairs took another Face, when, instead of being confined in a Corner of *Italy* with a small Territory, they spread themselves over all that rich beautiful Country, made themselves Masters of *Sicily*, and in the Course of two or three Ages, extended their Dominion from Sea to Sea; then, I say, they made several important Changes in their Government, added many new Magistracies, and enlarged the Powers of those already in Being, according to the Conveniencies or Inconveniencies, arising from their former Establishment and present Situation.

In order to understand this *Progress* of their Constitution, we must remember that under *Romulus* and the Kings, the *Senate* was principally a *Council of State*, and in many cases a *Court of Justice*: And though as a distinguished Body, whose Members bore the prime Honors of their Country, it made a noble Figure, yet at bottom its legal Powers were far inferior to those of the *Roman People*. But soon after the Banishment of the *Tarquins*, and the Settlement of their Liberties, Things were brought to a better Temper. The high Character and superior Capacity of the *Patricians* made the Stress of all Affairs fall upon them at that dangerous Juncture: a few of their Chiefs had at first contrived, and were the sole Directors of the *great Revolution*; and the Public afterwards

willingly allowed them to retain these Parts of Power which require the greatest Abilities and Disinterestedness to discharge them. Then, as the City prospered and grew more populous, the *Comitia*, or general Assemblies of the People, grew more troublesome and inconvenient; their Numbers became unwieldy, and their Meetings tumultuous, so that it required much time and patience to gather the Votes'. This made it improper to call the *Commons* together upon every ordinary Occurrence, and of consequence brought the common Course of public Business, by little and little, into the Channel of the *Senate*, who were easily assembled, and could better afford to occupy their Heads and Hands in affairs of State, than the poor Laborers or Artisans, who had need to employ both all day long in earning their Bread. By this means the original Plan of their Government came to be so much improved, that it will be proper to review it, and consider both how it stood in its greatest Perfection, and what Resemblance it then bore to the present Government of Great Britain.

Deinde, quia difficile *Plebs* convenire cœpit, *Populus* certe multo difficilior in tantâ turbâ hominum, necessitas ipsa curam *Reip.* ad *Senatum* deduxit. Ita cœpit *Senatus* se interponere, & quicquid constituisset observabatur.

Pompon. Tit. de Orig. Juris.

Nam cum auctus esset *Pop. Rom.* in eum modum, ut difficile esset in unum eum convocare Legis faciendæ causâ, æquum visum est *Senatum* vice *Pop.* consuli.

Instit. Imper. Lib. I. Tit. II.

It consisted of THREE PARTS, as before:

I. Two *Consuls*, Chiefs and Heads of the Commonwealth. They were vested with the Regal Power⁶, and accordingly, the old Ensigns of Royalty and Terrors of Criminals, the twelve Bundles of Rods and Axes, were carried before them by twelve *Lictors*, whenever they appeared in public⁷. The *Consuls*, while in the City, seemed at first view, like the Kings, to direct and dispose of every thing: Like them, They represented the Dignity of the Government, and did the Honors of the State upon all Occasions: All the Magistrates, that is, the whole Body of the Republic, except the Tribunes, obeyed them; and the Execution of the Law, with Power of Imprisonment, the good Order of the City, and Quiet of *Italy*, were in the first instance committed to them. All Foreigners coming to *Rome* about public Business, were to address themselves first to the *Consuls*: to whose Discretion it was left to introduce them speedily to the Fathers, or delay

⁶ *Regio Imperio duo sunt: iique praeundo, judicando, consulendo, Praetores, Judices, Consules appellantur: militiae supremum jus habent: nemini parent: olli salus Populi suprema Lex esto.*

Cicero de Legibus, Lib. III.

⁷ The axes were put into the Fasces only when the Consul made a Progress without the City, and were taken out at his Return, and nothing but the Bundle of Rods left in the Hands of the *Lictor*. This Custom was first introduced to put respect upon the Roman Citizens by *Valerius Publicola*. ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως γένηται, χρῆσθαι τοῖς πελέκεσιν. ἔνδον δὲ, ταῖς ῥάβδοις κοσμησθαι μόναις.

Διονυσ. Αρχαιολ. βιβ. 5. §.

calling the Senate, as *they* thought convenient. *Like the Kings*, they presided in that august Assembly, governed the Debates, asked the Opinions, and had Power to *oblige*, and even *compel* any Senator to attend the Meeting. They had likewise the Privilege to propose, and bring in Bills for what they thought wanted the Sanction of the *Senate*; and when the Decree was passed, they made out the Act, and published it in the *Capitol*. What was done by the *Commons* must in the same manner pass through the Hands of the *Consuls*; they called and held the *Comitia*, or great Assembly of the *People*, proposed Laws likewise to them, and ratified the Vote of the Majority: Nor was the Election valid of the highest Magistrate in *Rome* until *they* made the Return. In a word, there was hardly any State - Affair transacted without Doors, where the *Consuls* did not preside as Chiefs of the Common-wealth.

But, *like the Kings* too, their chief Province, and what gave the greatest Lustre to their Dignity, was the *supreme Command in time of War*. This was the admired Part of their Office; the Part for which it was so much courted, and which was hardly ever separated from it, the *Temple of Janus* having been but once shut, and that for a very little Space, while *Rome* was governed by *Consuls*. Here then they were almost *absolute*: They gave Commissions, ordered the Levies, provided Arms, and proceeded to the War with their *Questor*, or *Lord Treasurer*, always attending them, to issue out what Sums they should be pleased to order

for the public Service. They had of course the Distribution of *military Rewards* and *Punishments*, and were sole Judges even to Life and Death of every thing done in *the Field*. Yet with all this Power, and the high Lustre of their Office, the *Consuls* were under the Direction of the *Fathers* in the Exercise of it, and accountable to the *People* at its Expiration.

II. For the *Senate*, the second Branch of the *Legislature*, had now the supreme Management of the *Treasury* and so could disappoint or promote any Enterprise as *they* pleased. They had the Power of imposing Taxes according to every Man's *Census* or estate; they directed the *Censors* in farming out the Revenue, and the *Ediles* agreed with the Undertakers for Public-works under *their* Inspection: No Money could be issued, but by *their* and the Consul's Order; nor could the greatest General obtain the noblest Reward of his Victories, the *Triumph*, without *their* Consent and Approbation. They had their Part in passing Laws, which were commonly first moved in *their* House, except such as regarded the Power and Privileges of the *Commons*. The great Officers of State were, for many Years, elected out of *their* Body; and from among *them* the Judges, both of civil and criminal Causes, were to be chosen by Lot, or had the judicative Power annexed to their Office. This Power, together with the Disposal of the Revenue, and letting the Public-works, were the great Checks which the Senate had upon the Commonalty. A Commoner did not know
how

how soon a *Patrician* might be his Judge, and have both his Life and Estate in his Hands; or how soon as *Edile*, *Pretor*, or *Consul*, he might have it in his Power to turn him out of Business, or continue him in a lucrative Employment, and therefore proceeded cautiously in opposing him.

Nor must it be forgot, that the Senate assumed to themselves the supreme Power of judging in Matters of *Religion*. They admitted or excluded new *Deities*, ratified or banished new *Rites*, as they deemed it for the *Service of the Public*. They judged of *Visions* and *Revelations*, and ordered the *Expiation* of *Portents* through *Italy*; or if there occurred any *Difficulty* above the Reach of human Reason, then the *Sibylline Writings*; the *Roman Scriptures*, were inspected only by *their Order*. It is true they proceeded with great *Caution* and *Tenderness* in these sacred Matters, and seldom came to a *Determination* without making first a *Reference* to the *High-Priest*, or consulting the *College of the Augurs*.

But what gave that august Body the greatest Splendor, both at home and abroad, was that now they were not only a *Council of State*, deliberating and giving their *Opinion* upon every public Concern, but for the most part by their own proper Authority put their *Decrees to Execution**. This Authority was bounded in *domestic*

* Magistratus, quodcunque Senatus creverit, agunto. Imperia, Potestates, Legationes, cum Senatus creverit, Populusve jusserit, ex urbe exeunto: Duella justa justè

affairs by the Powers of the *People*; but was next to unlimited *abroad*. They determined what number of Men and Arms, what Sum of Money and Quantity of Provisions should go to the Service of the current Year: They determined the *Quota* of each of these to be furnished by their *Allies* in case of a War, and prescribed to them how to live with the neighbouring States in time of Peace. They gave the final Orders to the Governors of Provinces before their Departure; and frequently directed a new elected Consul going to the Campaign, in the same manner as a modern Sovereign instructs the General whom he intrusts with the Conduct of his Armies. By the same Authority they gave Audience to all Embassies from *Kings* and *States*, and after Consultation returned the Answer *they* thought proper: They instructed the *Roman Ambassadors* going in the Name of the Republic to foreign Courts, and enlarged or restrained their Powers as *they* saw convenient. Sometimes they sent them merely for Information, to see and make Report of the State

gerunto: sociis parcunto: se et servos continento: Populi sui gloriam augento: Domum cum laude redeunto.

Cicero de legibus, Lib. III.

Senatus — Nuncios pacis ac belli, creatores, interpretes, bellici consilii auctores, muneris provincialis ministros, *more majorum* deligere potest. — Senatui provinciæ decernendæ potestas, imperatoris deligendi judicium, Ærarii dispensatio — quæ nunquam sibi Pop. Rom. appetivit. — Quis *Legatos* unquam audivit sine *Senatusconsulto*?

Cicero Oratio in Vatinius.

of a Country : and, at others, empowered them to sequestrate Provinces, and give or take away Kingdoms *by a simple Message* : So that the Princes who were not thoroughly acquainted with *Roman Affairs*, receiving their Answers about *Peace* or *War* always from *them*, supposed the Government of *Rome* to be wholly in the Hands of the Senate.

III. But such were not well informed of what passed within the Walls of the *City* : There they would have seen that the *People*, the third Branch of the Common-wealth, when assembled in the grand *Comitia*, finally determined the important Points of making *Peace* or declaring *War* against any Nation; and reserved to themselves the Power of recognising the Terms of every Treaty and Alliance made by their Generals abroad, and dissolving or ratifying it as *they* saw Cause⁹. They did indeed pay great regard to the *Authority of the Senate*, and seldom or never differed from them about *foreign Affairs*, which they could not well understand, and when left to themselves, but rarely meddled with. But at *home* they retained their ancient great Privilege, which was to chuse *by whom* they would be governed, and to judge of the Fidelity and Capacity of their Governors at the Expiration of their Office. All Places therefore of Honor and Trust depended upon *their* Votes; nor was there access to any civil Magistracy,

⁹ Injussu Populi nego quicquam sanciri posse quod Populum teneat.

or military Dignity, but by *their* Favor. No general Law could pass without *their* Consent; the highest Magistrate could put no *Roman* to Death without *their* Command¹; neither were the *Decrees* of the Senate valid until their *Tribunes* who sat without, had examined whether they interfered with the Privileges of the Commons, and marked them with the first Letter of their Name (T), in sign of Approbation. In a word, the *Roman People* had in their Hands the two chief Springs of Government, *Rewards* and *Punishments*: To *them* Application was to be made for Consulships, Pretorships, Priesthoods, and Provinces, and for all the highest Honors of the State: to *them* the grand and ultimate Appeal lay from every other Tribunal: Before *them* the highest Magistrate in *Rome* was to be arraigned, if guilty of Neglect of Duty, or Breach of Trust; and the greatest Conqueror, if called upon by *them*, was obliged to appear, and give an Account of the Expedition.

From this *Plan* of Government it appears, that the Consuls had what a Civilian would call the *executive* Power, being the highest Officers of State: that the Senate had both the *deliberative* and *jussive* Part, being properly the governing

¹ Ne tamen Consules per omnia regiam potestatem sibi vindicarent, lege latâ factum est, ut ab eis provocatio esset, neve possent in caput Civis Romani animadvertere injussu Populi.

Body, which gave Life and Motion to the whole : and that the People , to balance them , had the *elective*, and *decisive* Parts of the Constitution.

It were easy now to show how these different Parts depend upon one another ; how they all contribute to their mutual Support in time of War, and serve as Restraints when Men wax wanton with Peace. But with what Pleasure do I reflect, that the Labor would be lost upon a *Briton*, who understands his *native Laws*, and the justly envied Privileges to which he is born ? If acquainted with *these*, he will easily perceive the Resemblance which the British Constitution bears to the *Roman* in all its branches ² : and if he stop a little to compare them more narrowly, he will see the advantage, in Point of *domestic Quiet*, lying on the side of his Country. Without the Tumult and recurring Disorders that embroiled the Elections of their *annual Sovereigns*, we enjoy a more *sedate Liberty* ; and have a steadier, because a less interrupted Administration. Our best and greatest Men, though accountable for their Conduct, and subject to a severe Inquiry, are not exposed, like *theirs*, to the Insults and Prejudices of a misguided insolent Mob ³ : And if, in other

² Statuo esse optimè constitutam Remp. quæ ex tribus generibus illis, *Regali*, *Optimati* et *Populari* confusa modicè, nec puniendo irritet Animum immanem ac ferum, nec omnia prætermittendo licentiâ civis deteriores reddat.

Cicer. apud Non. in Modicum.

³ Quod enim Fretum, quem Euripum, tot motus, tantas

respects, our Tide of Liberty runs not so full, and consequently our Spirits rise not so high as theirs, we are likely in return (and *may Heaven fulfil the Prophecy!*) *to be more than compensated by its Stability and Duration.* The Romans, who in their Beginnings had experience of all the Varieties of good and bad Fortune, seem to have been sensible of their Disadvantages, and had recourse to two or three remarkable Expedients to supply them.

They put the first in practice soon after they had expelled their Kings, and abolished the *Royalty*: when any sudden Danger threatened them, as was frequently their Case, or when hard pressed by a powerful Enemy, they quickly perceived the inconveniency of waiting the Orders of a large Assembly*. On such Occasions they elected a temporary absolute *Sovereign*, who had all Power,

tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum, quantas perturbationes et quantos æstus habet Ratio Comitiorum: dies intermissus unus aut nox interposita sæpe perturbat omnia; et totam opinionem parva nonnunquam commutat Aura Rumoris. Nihil est incertius vulgo; nihil obscurius voluntate hominum; nihil fallacius Ratione tota Comitiorum.

Cicero. Orat. pro L. Murena.

* Ηγήσαντο ἂν εἰ εἶνα ἔλθιντο ἄρχοντα, μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ πολυαρχίας ὀυσης δύνασθαι τὸν εἶνα χρῆσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ εἰ τὶ θεοὶ λογιζάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν καὶ κρύπτεσθαι καὶ εἰ τὶ ἂν θεοὶ φθάνειν, ἥττον ἂν ὑπερίξειν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ ἐνι περαινέσθαι ἂν.

Ξενοφών. Αναξασ. βιβ. 5.

This was the Opinion of The Ten Thousand Greeks, who could judge from *Experience*.

civil and military, and was to be obeyed without delay or control. They called him at first *Master of the People*, and afterwards Dictator, as a less invidious Name. He had the nomination of his own Lieutenant-General, or *Master of the Horse*, and abdicated his high Authority at the end of six months, or for the most part sooner, when he had warded off the Danger for which he was elected, and secured the public Tranquillity.

Afterwards, when their Dominion was mightily increased, and they had got the better of all their Neighbours, as there were fewer occasions for this Expedient, so they grew more shy of creating a *Dictator*; justly dreading the Use he might make of his high Title, and unlimited Commission: For their primitive Innocence ceased with their Poverty, and as their Wealth and Power increased, so did their Ambition and Avarice. For this reason, in cases of extreme Necessity, (which after the Conquest of *Carthage* and *Macedon*, were rather *Conspiracies* at home than Dangers from abroad) if the *Consuls* were Men the Senate could confide in, they bestowed that grand Trust upon them. The Form of the Act is admirable for its Simplicity: It bore nothing more than "*Let the Consuls take care that no Harm befall the Roman State:*" But the Import of it was, 'That they might raise what army they thought fit, seize and imprison

¹ *Magister Equitum*; quod summa potestas hujus in Equites et Adcenfos, ut est summa in Populum Romanum *Dictatoris*, a quo is quoque Magister Populi appellatus.

M. T. Varonis de Ling. Lat. Lib. IV.

‘ whom *they* pleased, and exercise all manner of
 ‘ Jurisdiction over the Persons and Estates of the
 ‘ Citizens and their Allies ‘. In effect, the two
 last *Dictators* were of their own creating, and
 not of the *Commonwealth's*.

The other Expedient was partly of the same
 nature; not indeed an unlimited Dominion granted
 to any one Officer of State, but an *Addition* made
 both to the Power and Number of their Magistrates,
 when the Empire increased in Bulk, and the Pro-
 vinces required particular Governors for their
 better Administration. While *Rome* was a small
 Town, its Inhabitants few, and Territory circum-
 scribed, it was easy for *two* supreme Magistrates
 to execute the Laws, and inspect every Part of
 the infant Common-wealth. The first *Consuls* were
 Judges of civil Right as well as Officers of State;
 and decided the *private* Causes of the Citizens at
 home, as they did those of the *Public* in the
 field. But when all the neighbouring States and
 petty Princes, were become either the Subjects
 or Allies of *Rome*; when they had repulsed the
Gauls, conquered the *Samnites*, and humbled
 the *Capuans*; but particularly when they came to
 get footing beyond sea; then it was that they

‘ *Senatus decrevit, darent operam Coss. ne quid detri-*
menti Resp. caperet. Ea potestas per Senatum, more *Ro-*
mano, Magistratui maxima permittitur; exercitum parare,
 bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis Socios atque Civeis;
 domi militiaeque Imperium, atque Judicium summum habere:
 aliter sine *Populi jussu* nulli earum rerum Consuli jus est.

C. Sallust. Bell. Catilin.

found it necessary to admit more of their Officers to the Exercise of the supreme Authority: These were their *Proconsuls* and *Pretors*, (of whose Creation immediately) who were soon empowered to call the Senate, hold Assemblies of the People, and were made capable of the Command of Armies, and Government of Provinces, as well as the Consuls themselves.

The same increase of Business with the Increase of the Empire, produced another Magistracy, of small consideration at first, as being only intended to ease the Consuls of the trouble of taking and keeping an account of the *Number* of the Citizens, and *Value* of their Estates.—But by degrees they assumed the power of not only calling over the Roll of the several Orders, *Senators*, *Knights*, (or Gentlemen) and *Plebeians*, but of judging which of the Citizens were worthy or unworthy to remain in these Orders, and of *expelling* the Senator or *degrading* the Knight they deemed a Dishonor to his Station; they were called *Censors*, from the original⁷ of their Office, which became a Supplement to the Laws, and a supreme Tribunal over the *Manners* of Individuals, and of the whole People; for being connected with *Property* on one hand, and with *Honor* or *Ignominy* on the other, the *Censors* had the management of the two Springs that gave the greatest Ascendant over Men.

While the *Roman Manners* continued sound, and their Spirit undaunted, while they did nothing

⁷ See page 47.

deserving Shame, and therefore dreaded it worse than Death, the Censorship was the most awful Dignity in the Common-wealth: Men of the highest Rank, who had discharged the other Offices of State with honor, who had been *Consuls*, *Proconsuls*, and *Dictators*, were usually chosen into it; and they exercised it with a Severity that, like a Touch-stone, attests the high Purity of *Roman* Virtue, while it astonishes Posterity. For, not only gross Immoralities, or high Crimes and Misdemeanours, but *Petulance*, *Indecency*, *Inconsistency* in Conduct, or the least Tendency to Dissolution of Manners, infallibly felt the censorial Displeasure. Upwards of *sixty* Senators have been expelled the Senate at one Review, for reasons that our Luxury would prompt us to laugh at. *P. Cornelius, Rufinus*, a Man twice Consul and once Dictator, was ejected by the Censor *Fabricius*, for having *ten Pound Weight of Silver-plate* in his possession. *Emilius Lepidus*, though chief of the *Augurs*, had the same fate, because he was so prodigal as to dwell in a house rented at *forty-eight Pounds, eight Shillings and nine Pence**. *L. Flaminius*, of Consular Dignity, and brother of the famous *Titus Flaminius* the Conqueror of *Philip*, and deliverer of oppressed *Greece*, was ejected by the inflexible *Cato* for ordering the Execution of a Criminal in time of Dinner, in his own Presence, to satisfy the Curiosity of his Strumpet. Nor did these rigid Inspectors spare one another.

M. Livius, called from a Tax on Salt, *Salina-*

* *Quod sex millibus habitaret.*

C. Vellei. Lib. I.

tor, a grave, severe, vindictive Man, having done some unpopular thing in his Consulship, was accused by a Tribune, and condemned by the Votes of all the Tribes save one; after which he retired to the Country, and for eight years lived like one in exile, neglected in his Dress, with a settled Sullenness in his Look. He was then forced to Town, and to Attendance in the Senate by the *Consuls*, who knew his worth and Capacity; and not long after, both the supreme Magistrates, *M. Marcellus* and *T. Quintius Crispinus*, having been surrounded and killed by Hannibal, while his Brother *Hasdrubal* was passing the *Alps* with a great Army and vast Treasure to join him, the Senate prevailed with the Commons to elect *M. Livius Salinator*, steady and sedate, along with *C. Claudius Nero*, full of ardor and Activity, into that high Office, as the most proper pair of *Consuls* to oppose to the impending Storm. They had formerly been at variance, *Claudius* having been one of the Witnesses against *Livius* at his Trial; but now by the authority of the Fathers, they were publicly reconciled, embraced in the Senate-house, marched against *Hasdrubal*, and a glorious Victory which we will have occasion to mention hereafter, retrieved their Country from imminent Perdition.

For this noble Service they triumphed together in great Splendor, and conducted the rest of their Consulship with perfect harmony: But being soon after chosen conjunct Censors, they gave Specimens of a different Spirit. The greater part of the censorial Work — ‘canvassing the Senate, inspecting

‘ the public Buildings, and farming out the Revenue,’ they performed unanimously enough; but in reviewing the Centuries of the *Roman Knights*, among whom they both still were, when it was the turn of the *Pollian Tribe*, to which *M. Livius* belonged, and the public Crier hesitated to call the *Censor* himself, ‘ *Cite*, said *Nero*, Marcus ‘ *Livius Salinator*:’ which when done, he commanded him to sell the Horse he had from the Republic, (the Form of *degrading* a Knight) as a *Man who had been once condemned by the Roman People*. On the other hand, when the *Arnian Tribe* was in review, *M. Livius* ordered *C. Claudius Nero* to be cited, and commanded him to sell his Horse for two Reasons; first because he *had not given sound Evidence at his Trial*; and next because it appeared that *he had been insincere in his public Reconciliation*: Then with great Gravity, turning to the whole People, he told them, “ They could not avoid the Imputation of either
“ *Levity* or *Injustice*, as they first condemned him,
“ however innocent, and then chose him into
“ the highest Magistracies *Consul* and *Censor*: that
“ therefore, of the five-and-thirty Tribes he am-
“ erciated thirty-four in a Fine to the Treasury,
“ and only exempted the *Mecian Tribe*, which
“ had neither condemned him at the Expiration
“ of his first Consulship, nor voted him after that
“ into a second: that as for his Colleague *Nero*,
“ having already laid him under a Fine with
“ the *Pollian Tribe*, he could not by law make
“ him *twice obnoxious*; else he would have inflicted

“ a particular Censure upon him for his double
“ Prevarication. ”

But as this Magistracy was the Guardian of the *Roman* Manners, another Cause contributed to the Improvement of their Constitution, particularly in the Administration of *Justice at home*. The Contests between the Nobles and Commons had begun very early in *Rome*, and rose still higher in proportion to the public Prosperity. The *Commons* pretended that as they bore the greatest Burden of the State, as they filled the Legions and paid the Taxes, it was but reasonable they should have some Share of the Honors of their Country, and that *one* of the Consuls 'at least should be elected out of their Body. The *Patricians* opposed the Proposal with great violence; but, after long Struggling, they were forced to yield to the greater number, and admit *one* Consul to be annually a Plebeian: In return for which Concession, and to keep the Balance of Power still on the side of the Nobility, they demanded and obtained the Creation of two new Magistracies, to be elected by the *Centuries*, that is the *better Sort* of the Commons, and to be held and exercised only by *Patricians*, the *Pretorship**, and the *Edility*.

The Pretor was at first supreme Judge in all Causes of *private* Right, had the Guardianship of Orphans and Tuition of Changelings, much in the same manner as our *Lord High Chancellor*;

* Erected anno U. C. 388.

afterwards his Tribunal received Impeachments of a more *public* nature, illegal Exactions of Governors, Injuries done to Allies, and all manner of Extortion and Violence. From his Residence in *Rome* he was called the *Town-Pretor*. But when the Business flowing upon him, both from the growing City, and from the Provinces, turned too weighty to be managed by one Man, they created a second called the *Country-Pretor*¹; and in process¹ of time as the Empire increased, they found themselves obliged to augment the number of Pretors, first from two to four, then to six, then to eight. The Usurper *Julius*, to indulge the more of his Creatures, raised it last of all to ten, investing them likewise with the Authority of *Generals* and *Judges* in the Provinces, which, after their City-Magistracy, fell by lot under their Government².

The two *Curule* Ediles (so termed from the *Ivory-Chair*, the Mark of their Dignity, in which they sat in Judgment) were properly, as their Name denotes, *City-Magistrates*: They had the Inspection and Care of all the Temples, Porticos, and public Buildings under the *Censors*: They watched over the Beauty and Regularity of the Streets, fixing their Line at one Corner, and ordering the encroaching Edifice it struck upon, when extended to the other, to be instantly pulled

¹ Anno U. C. 510.

² Under the Emperors the Pretors came to be eighteen, and the Ediles six in number.

down. They had likewise the Superintendence of the Aqueducts (a vast thing in *Rome*), they set the Prices of the Markets; visited disorderly Houses³, kept a List of their *lewd Inmates*, and regulated the Police of the Town not unlike our Lords Mayors: But their grand Jurisdiction, and Lustre of their Office, lay in the supreme direction of the most ancient *solemn Games*, performed in honor of the *Roman Gods*, or of great Men at their Death. Some of these Shows they furnished out at their own Expense; and in latter times took that way of courting the Favor of the People for their future Magistracies by incredible Profusion and Magnificence. Both these Erections of the *Pretorship* and *Edility*, of moderate Influence at the beginning, gradually grew with the Grandeur of the Empire, became Offices of great Power and Authority, and were two of the Steps by which the high-spirited Citizens rose to *the supreme Command of the Empire*.

A young aspiring *Roman*, for example, of sixteen years of Age, having laid aside the *Pretexta*, and received the manly Gown⁴, must first go abroad as a Volunteer in the Train⁵ of some *Consul*, *Pretor*, or *Prefect*, going to command a Province, and its usual Concomitant, to conduct a War. If for some years he behaved well, he

³ Invenies *Voluptatem* circa Balnea & Sudatoria, ac loca *Ædilem* metuentia; *Fornices* scilicet & *Popinas*.

Seneca.

Licentiam stupri apud *Ædiles* vulgare.

Tacit.

⁴ Toga virilis.

⁵ Contubernium.

had the recommendation of his superior Officer and of the Cohort to the *Roman People*, towards his being elected a *military-Tribune*. — There he entered upon Duty, put in practice what he had learned of the Art of War: and improved in the Knowledge of the Provinces, and the Methods of Government. When about thirty years of Age, he stood for the *Questorship*, a place of great Trust, being at the same time *Paymaster* of the army in his Province, *Commissioner of the Revenue*, and next the *Legatus* or Lieutenant in Dignity. Nor was it a small Consequence of this Office, that it gave a legal Capacity of being chosen into the Senate, either by the Censors at next Enrolment⁶, or by Nomination of an elder Senator⁷. Five years after he might be elected, if a Plebeian, into the turbulent Office of Tribune of the People, or if a Patrician, into the curule Edileship. Then he aspired to the *Pretorship* already described, and after an Interval of two years more, to the Dominion of ROME⁸, and supreme Magistracy. These Steps served as a Sort of State-Apprenticeship, which prevented

⁶ Lustrum.

⁷ Cum vir virum legit: inde in Senatum allectus.

⁸ Consulare Imperium — nimium, nec tolerabile liberae civitati: nomine enim tantum minus invidiosum, re ipsa prope atrocius quam Regium esse; quippe duos pro uno *Dominos* acceptos, immoderatâ, infinitâ potestate, qui soluti atque effrenati ipsi, omnes metus legum, omniaque supplicia verterent in Plebem.

Tit. Livii Hist. Lib. III.

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the Nobility or powerful Plebeians, from thrusting their Sons and Minions by force or favor into important Places and high Commands, before they were ripe to discharge them.

But besides the two great Bodies of Men, Nobles and Commons, into which Nations naturally divide, they are seldom of considerable standing without a *middle* Order forming, which, untainted with the Vices incident to either, partakes of the Virtues of both, and consequently bears a great sway in the Government. Such are the Gentry in *Great Britain*, corresponding to the Equestrian Order in the *Roman* State; — and happy had it been for them and it, had they had a greater share in the Administration, and been more closely connected with the source of Authority, the *Senate*. For being uninfected with the Sloth and Pride of the old Nobility, and above the baseness of the rude Vulgar, they give many a noble proof of their Valor in War⁹, and of their Attachment to the better Party¹, in times of civil Commotions.

⁹ T. Livii. Hist. Lib. V. The *Roman* Knights were called *Celeres* under *Romulus* and the Kings; then *Flexutini*; afterwards *Trossuli*, from a Town they had taken; then *Judges*, from the Days of the *Gracchi*, (in contempt of the Senate; next *Publicans*, or Farmers of the public Revenue^{*}; and at last *Cavaliers*, or *Knights*, from the *Horse* they received from the Public.

C. Plin. Lib. XXXIII. Cap. 2. See page 71. Note.

¹ C. Sueton. Tranquil. in C. Julio Cæsare. § 14.

^{*} Eum qui Vectigal Pop. Rom. conducum habet Publicanum appellamus. Tit. de verborum signif.

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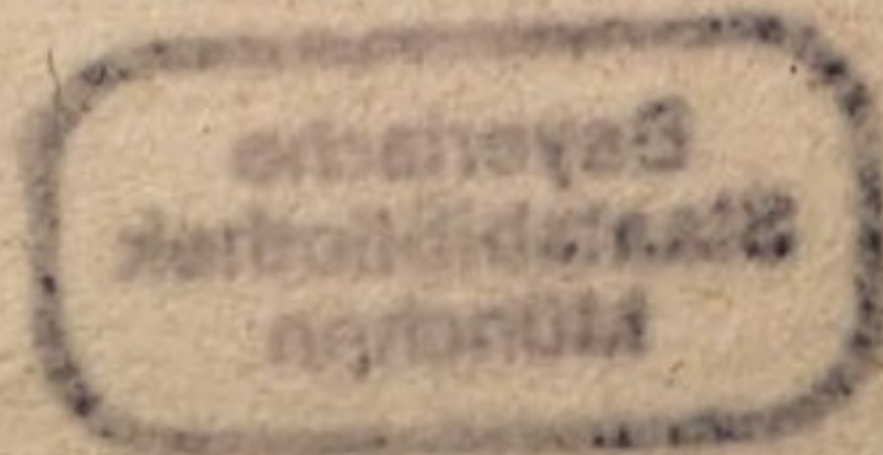
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By a Law of *M. Roscius Otho*², they had separate Seats assigned in the Theatre, to the great mortification of the envious Multitude; and by the salutary Policy of *Tullius Cicero*, they were strictly united with the *Patrician* Order. While they continued firm in that union, their additional Weight cast the balance in the *Tribunician* Struggles, and gave the best Counsels a great superiority: But having been disobliged by the too rigid *Cato*, in an Abatement they prayed in the Rate of the Revenue, (which they usually farmed under the Name of *Publicans*) and partly deluded, partly corrupted by the Enemy of Liberty *Julius Caesar*, they unhappily abandoned the Senate, and stood idle Spectators of their own, and their Country's Ruin.

But under the *Consular* Government they made one of the three great Bodies of the Republic; and though they had no separate Power of acting, nor could legally vote but as a Part of the *Roman* People, yet the affluence of their Fortunes, the Superiority of their Sense and Manners³, and above all, the Returns of the public Money passing through their Hands to the several Magistrates, enabled them to promote any Design they approved, or thwart any measure disagreeable to their Order.

² He was Tribune while *C. Calpurnius Piso*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio* were Consuls, anno U. C. 686. See Horat. Epod. Od. IV. Epist. I. Lin. 57.

³ Horat. de Arte Poetica, Lin. 248.



The *Subdivisions* of these constituent Parts of the Commonwealth, and their particular Methods of Procedure, are not absolutely necessary for understanding *these Memoirs*, or the *general Plan* of the Roman Constitution. It may only be proper to take notice, that the narrow Domain of *Infant-Rome* had been divided into Three Districts or Lots, which gave rise to their respective Inhabitants being called *Tribes*, though they afterwards increased to *thirty-five*, as was lately observed: that the Cavalry, called originally *Celeres*, (Swift-Men) were likewise divided into *three Squadrons*, of one hundred Men each, called *Centuries*; that these Tribes were again divided into ten *Curiae*, or *Wards*, and these Wards were subdivided into ten Parts, which, from that number, they called *Decuriae*, Tenth-wards: Over these Divisions were, in the first place, three *Chiefs* of the Tribes, called *Tribunes*: thirty Chiefs of the Wards, called *Curiones*, or *Guardians*; and three hundred inferior Officers called *Decurios*, over the smallest Division of the People:

* Τριχῇ νεύμας ὁ Ῥωμύλῳ τὴν πλεθρὴν ἀπάσαν, ἐκάστων τῶν μοιρῶν τὸν ἐπιφανεστάτον ἐπέστητεν ἡγεμόνα. ἔπειτα τῶν πριῶν πάλιν μοιρῶν ἐκάστην εἰς δέκα μοίρας διελών, ἴσας ἡγεμόνας καὶ τρίτων ἀπέδειξε τὰς ἀνδρειοτάτας. ἐκάλει δὲ τὰς μὲν μείζους μοίρας Τρίβους, τὰς δ' ἐλάττω Κουρίας, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον βίον ἔτι προσασφραγεύονται. εἴη δ' ἂν ἐλάττω γλώττῃ τὰ ὀνόματα ταῦτα μεθερμηνευόμενα Φυλὴ μὲν καὶ Τρίτῳς ἢ Τρίβῳς Φρατσα δὲ καὶ Λόχῳ ἢ Κηρία καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰς τρίβων ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες Φύλαρχοί τε καὶ Τρίτῳαρχοί ἔς καλεῖσσι Ῥωμαῖοι Τρίβουνους* οἱ δὲ ταῖς κηρίαις ἐθεστηκότες, Φρατρίαρχοι καὶ Λοχαῖοι, ἔς ἐκεῖνοι Κουριῶνας ὀνομάζονται. διήρηντο δὲ καὶ εἰς δεκάδας αἱ Φράτραι πρὸς αὐτὰς, καὶ ἡγεμῶν ἐκάστην ἐκὸς μὲν δεκάδα, Δεκουρίων κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶττιαν προσασφραγεύονται. — ἐκ δὲ τῆς διαίρεσεως ταύτης ἔμνονον τὰ πολίτευμα, γὰρ

The *Economy* therefore, if I may so call it, of the *Roman State* was not confined to the great constituent Bodies of the Republic; but by these *Subdivisions* was diffused through all its Branches, inspired a spirit of Order and Subordination into the lowest of the Vulgar, (naturally the most disorderly part of a Nation) facilitated both their civil Procedures and military Levies; while the almost continual Wars in which *Rome* was engaged, gave the least Officer opportunities to exercise his Power, and effectually prevented their dwindling into *Sinecures*.

This, then, was the exterior Frame and general Texture of the Consular-Constitution. But the chief part of the *Roman Government* still remains undescribed; with this hard condition, that it is scarcely possible to find Language fully to paint it. What I mean is, the *high Spirit* and *steady Virtue*, which was the Life and Soul of that glorious Republic; which inspired their counsels, conducted their enterprises, and animated every branch of the Administration. For after the expulsion of their Tyrants, a new Vigor seemed to be infused into every *Roman Breast*: Each felt himself a *free man*, and swelled his Heart with generous Joy: Every *Patrician* looked upon

μάλα σώφρονας ἐλάμβανε καὶ τεταγμένους τὰς διοικήσεις ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ταχείας καὶ εὐπειθεῖς. And it is remarkable, that the reciprocal or equivalent Appellations used by the Greek Historians in explaining the Latin ones, are, the first, a *civil*, and the other, a *military* Term.

Διονύς. Ἀλιχαρν. Ἀρχαιολ. βιβ. β.

himself as a *Prince*; every *Commoner* thought he was raised to a new *Dignity*: no Awe nor Terror over their Heads but the Laws; no meaner Thoughts than Honors and Happiness at home, and abroad Conquest and Glory. For now the celebrated Historian's Observation, concerning the newly-freed *Athenians*, was fully verified; 'That it appeared, 'not in one Instance or two, but over all the 'World, that Liberty and Laws gave *Excellency* 'to Men; for the People of *Athens*, says he, 'while under the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* and his 'Sons, were in military matters nothing better 'than their Neighbours; but, having once got 'rid of their Masters, they soon became far 'superior to all around them.' The noble Spirit inseparable from Liberty, quickly shone forth in the great occasions the *Romans* immediately had to show it; and being kept by a train of them in constant exercise, it became habitual to the People, and turned a *national Character*. And first the *Tarquins*, banished from *Rome*, wandered up and down among the neighbour Princes, and found some who had the Folly to think the Cause of every abdicated King *their own*. *Porfenna*, a brave *Tuscan Prince*, espoused their Quarrel, marched with a powerful Army against the new *Common-wealth*, pressed hard upon the City, cut

‘ Δηλοῖ δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐν μῶνον, ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ Ἰσχυρία ὡς ἐπὶ χρῆμα σπαδαῖον. ἔπει καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τυραννεύμενοι μὲν ἔδαμῶς τῆς σφέας περιουκένων ἔσαν τὰ πολέμια ἀμεινῆς; ἀπαλλαχθέντες δὲ τυράννων μακρῶ Πρωτοὶ ἐγένοντο.

Ηροδοτου Τερψιχ.

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off their Provisions, and reduced them to a deplorable State.

In this Extremity it was, that they showed what a matchless, invincible Virtue Liberty inspires: Then it was that a single *Roman*, *Horatius Cocles*, kept the whole *Tuscan* Army at a Bay, until the Bridge behind him was broke down,—then leaped, armed as he was, into the Stream, and swam unhurt to the friendly Shore. Then it was that *C. Mutius Scævola* burnt the Hand that had missed stabbing the Invader;—that even a young Lady escaped from custody with her Fellow-Hostages, mounted the first Horse they met with, and when closely pursued, plunged into the Stream, and swam over the swelled *Tyber* to the *Roman* Bank: and then it was that the whole Body of the Citizens, though famished almost to death, bid the *Tuscan* King ‘ spare his Pains and
‘ Interposition for the Tarquins, since they were
‘ firmly resolved to undergo every Species of
‘ Misery, rather than receive back the Tyrant
‘ and his Race.’ *Porfenna* had the Generosity to admire their Virtue, draw off his Army, and leave them a happy because a free People.

After surmounting this fierce Attack, their Liberty, like a thriving Tree shaken by the Winds, took deeper Root: the Power of their new Constitution, and the high Integrity with which it was administered, began to diffuse their Influence on every side, and produce marvellous Instances of all Kind of Virtue. At home, there was nothing but contented Poverty, Industry Innocence,

Modesty and Obedience: abroad, nothing but Justice and Public-faith, supported by the truest Courage, and fierce, undaunted Spirit that ever inflamed a Nation. Moderation in prosperity, and Magnanimity in Misfortunes was a *Roman Maxim*, and a *Roman Practice*.

But it is to be regretted that those who have hitherto touched upon this beautiful Subject of the *Roman Manners* seem to be deficient in this Respect: They assure us they were *temperate, generous and brave*; equally fitted to *command or obey*, and propose them as *Patterns* of public and private Virtue: But are at no Pains to instruct us, *how these Manners came to be formed?* what originally produced them? what maintained them so long? or by what fatal Turn they came first to be tainted, and were totally effaced at last: though without satisfying us in these Points, we enjoy but half the Pleasure, and reap none of the Instruction which the Subject amply affords.

The ancient Inhabitants of Italy, like those of *Great Britain*, were a Mixture of many Nations⁶.

⁶ There are evident Proofs of this *Mixture* in their Language, which the curious will not be displeased to have briefly pointed out. The *Body* and general Structure of the *Latin Tongue* is clipt Greek: its Declensions, Flexions, and Syntax being lamely copied from the other; which made the *Greeks*, where they could speak with Freedom, give the *Romans* the derisory Appellation of *Οπικισται*, i. e. *Rule-Bablers* *. Through this main Body of their Speech are scattered many words purely *Eastern*, which we can trace

* Cato apud Plin. Lib. IX.

The oldest seem to have been *Celts* and *Gauls*, called by the *Latin* Writers *Aborigines*; a rude Race of Mortals, whose savage Manners give rise to the fables of the *Monsters* that possessed the *Italic* Shore. Among these some wandering Tribes from *Lydia* and *Phrygia* seem to have first imported the Knowledge of the *Arts of Life*, together with some Seeds of *Religion*; as we gather from the *Eastern* Originals of the Names of their Gods, and Instruments of Worship.—But the southern Parts of Italy, and the *Coast* on both sides, were certainly peopled from *Greece*; and, of all the Greek Nations, the hardy People of the *Peloponnesus* seem to have most affected the Climate and soil of Italy⁷, and under *Hercules* *Evander*,

in the remains of the *Oriental* Tongues, (besides the names of their Gods) such as *Cano*, *pateo*, *Canna*, *Calumnia*, and hundreds more, among which is the Name of Rome itself, so called from the *Height* on which it first stood. These they probably owe to the *Phrygians* and *Lydians* that settled in *Tuscany*, and the *Environs* of Rome: The rest of their language is all Celtic, the dialect long prevalent after the founding of the Roman State in the neighbourhood of the City, in *Gallia-cispadana*, and among all the inhabitants of the *Alpine* hills. This is so interwove with the *Latin*, that any Word, especially names of the most obvious Things, which can neither be traced to a *Grecian* nor *Oriental* source, may be almost concluded to be of a Celtic Original: Such as, for example, *Mare* the Sea, *Ignis* Fire, *Acqua* Water, *Gladius* a sword, *Manus* a Hand, *Saxum* a Rock, *Palus* a Pool, *Lacus* a Lake, with an infinity more.

⁷ Μόλις τε καὶ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ, ἡσυχάσασα ἡ Ἑλλάς βεβαίως, καὶ

Phalanthus, and other Leaders, to have made it the usual Receptacle of their supernumerary Youth, or Refuge of an overpowered Tribe when driven from home by an Invasion.

Now these Removes happened, and these Colonies were settled long before *Greece*, and especially the *Peloponnesus* knew what Luxury was. It was an *Asiatic* Plant, brought from that rich and slavish Country, which first took root in the great trading Towns that lay nearest its Mother-Soil. It was long e'er it reached the *Peloponnesus*, especially the inland mountainous Parts, *Arcadia*, and *Lacedemon*, from whom issued the chief Colonies that peopled the *Italic* Borders. They were then a fierce hardy Race, remarkable for the Harshness of their Diet, and the Strength of Body, and Sturdiness of Mind that always attend it. When the *Spartan Spirit* first began to rise, they consulted the Oracle, according to the Custom of the Times, or rather prayed the God that he would enable them to subdue their stubborn Neighbours the *Arcadians*; but were answered No; for this remarkable Reason, '*that there were many Acorn-Eating Men that lived in broad Arcadia.*'

We cannot therefore doubt, but these Peloponnesian-Swarms retained the Stamp of the hardy

ἐκ' ἑστὶ ἀνισταμένη αὖ ποικίλας ἐξέπεμψε καὶ Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ νησιωτῶν τὰς πολλὰς ὤκισαν Ἰταλίας δὲ καὶ Σικελίας τὸ πλεῖστον Πελοποννησιοὶ τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐστὶν αὖ χωρία.

Θουκυδίδ. βιβ. Α.

Manners of their parent Hive; and mixing with the savage *Celts* and superstitious *Tuscan*s, without diminishing the Fierceness that was the chief Feature in the Character of the ancient *Italic* Nations, they *tempered* it by introducing each the Regulations of their native States. Among these one of the most remarkable was their *Συσσιτία*^{*} or the *Spartan* custom of eating in Public: an effectual Bar to Intemperance, and great Promoter of Decency and Concord. At these Seasons, the Love of one's Country steals into the Heart when it is open; mutual Friendships, like Metals, cement best when the Mind is softened in a tender Moment; and the Attachment to the Community proceeds now from Inclination, as well as from Views of Protection and Interest.

For a great while the *Romans* sat not down to their private Meals, without first inquiring, *Who were to be at Table?* and the Reason was, that they might wait the coming of a Man advanced in Years, or leave empty for him the most honorable Place at the Board. After Meat, the aged Guests accompanied the Music with their awful Voice^{*}, not in light Songs or effeminating Airs,

* Ὅτι Λακῶσι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις νόμος ἦν, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἴνι ὀψωνεῖν μήτε αἰ βέλεια, μήτε ὅσα βέλεια προσέτατον γὰρ διὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων σωφρονεῖν τὰς πολίτας, καὶ διὰ τῆς Τραπεζῆς εἶχ' ἥκιστα.

Αἰλιαν. Ποικιλ. Ἰσορ. βιβ. Γ'. § λδ'.

* *Est in originibus; solitos esse in epulis canere convivas ad tibicinem* De Clarorum Virorum Virtutibus.

M. T. Cicero. Tusc. Quest. I.

but they sung the daring Deeds of their Ancestors to the listening Youth, and, unfit now for the Field themselves, fired those about to enter on the active Scenes of Life with an eager Desire of similar Fame. No wonder if under such Discipline the young Generation grew up a sober martial Race; patient and orderly;—yet ardent in the Pursuit of Glory: for, of all the Institutions contrived by the Wit of Man, no *two* can tend more directly, or operate more effectually in moulding a People to *Temperance*, and at the same time rousing a *martial* Spirit, than *first* eating every Day as it were under the Eye of the Public, and then constantly hearing Virtue exalted, and Services to their Country repaid with merited Praise. Public *Restraints* from Intemperance, and *Incentives* to noble Deeds, were the *Characteristics* of the two best regulated, and most warlike Nations of *Greece*, the Cretan Commonwealth, and mixed Spartan Monarchy. It was the Trophies erected by *Miltiades* after foiling the Persians, that would not let the young *Themistocles* sleep; and the Sight of *Alexander's* statue drew Tears from a young *Traitor*, who admired the Macedonian's Rashness, more than the calm, Godlike Virtues of his own Citizens.

Under these Institutions the *Roman* Youth was moulded to Modesty and Moderation at home, inured to Toil abroad, and indulged no Passion but the Love of genuine Glory. Their very Women were regular and abstemious: they

drank no wine¹, admitted no Visits, nor went to any Spectacles without their Husband's permission, and accordingly for 520 years from the founding of the State, there was no Instance of a Wife's being divorced in *Rome*. In Return for this their Virtue they met with great Respect without Doors, and were likewise indulged in that weighty Article of a Woman's Wishes, their *Dress*. No *Lictor* or *Serjeant* durst lay his Hand upon a *Roman* Matron, though summoned to appear before the highest Tribunal;—nor did any Magistrate, though attended with all the Pomp of his Fasces, oblige her to give the Way, if he met her on the Street; and she even procured the same Deference to her Husband, if riding with her in the Chariot². Their Attire was rich and splendid, Gold and Purple, and a particular Way of burnishing their Hair with a Sort of Ashes that made it shine, still used by the *Italian Ladies*³.

¹ Ρωμαίοις ἦν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα νόμος ἐρρωμένος Γυναίκας Μη Πιεν Οἶνον· οὔτε ἐλευθέρᾳ γυνὴ ἔπιεν ἂν οἶνον οὔτε οἰκέτις· οὐδὲ μὴν τῶν ἐν γεγενοῖσιν οἱ ἀφ' ἡβῆς, μέχρι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν.

Αἰλιαν. Ποικιλ. Ἰσορ. Βιβ. β. § λη.

² *Matronæ a magistratibus non submovebantur: quam ob causam nec viri earum sedentes cum uxoribus in vehiculis descendere cogeantur.*

Verrii Flacci Fragm.

³ *Indulgentibus maritis, & auro abundante, & multâ purpurâ usæ sunt, & quo formam suam concinniozem redderent, summâ cum diligentia capillos cinere rutilâ.*

The *Two* chief Sources, therefore, of the *Roman* Virtue were first their *primitive Poverty*, which afforded them neither *Examples* nor *Fuel* for *Vice*; and next, the deep Tincture of *Peloponnesian* Blood and Manners. It is past Dispute, 'that the Knowledge of any Vice must precede the Practice of it:' But at the founding of *Rome*, the general Way of living all over *Italy* was happily barbarous with respect to the Refinements of Luxury. Its original Planters, *Romulus* and his Band, and the Confluence of Banditti, knew none of the effeminating Arts: their Vices were Cruelty and Violence, not Sloth the Pest of States, and its mean Concomitant unmanning Pleasure:—of a pernicious Nature indeed, but more convertible to Virtue than the low Habits that enervate the Body, and debase the Soul:—accordingly the rapacious, sanguinary Turn of the first *Romans* was mitigated by that divine Politician *Numa Pompilius*, and the *Fierceness* left; or to say it better, that *Fierceness* by a religious Policy was brought under the national Discipline, became not only manageable but salutary to the Public, by falling only where

runt; says *Valerius Maximus*; and lest this finery should be thought to lead to wantonness, he immediately subjoins, *Nulli enim tunc subseffores alienorum matrimoniorum oculi metuebantur, sed pariter & videre sanctè, & aspici mutuo pudore custodiebantur. Lib. II. §. 1.* 'For among the ancient *Romans*, they had no Apprehension of any lewd Eye lying in wait for another Man's Wife;' but both Sexes could see and be seen with perfect Innocence.

it was directed, upon the Enemies of the *Roman* Welfare and Prosperity.

As for the *Peloponnesian* Customs, they had taken such deep Root in *Italy*, that the great Master of Manners, and consummate Antiquarian Aristotle, makes the chief of them, the *Συσσιτια*, the Citizens eating together in public, to have taken its rise, not from *Lacedemon*, nor even from *Crete* itself, whence *Lycurgus* was thought to have brought the Plan of his Laws, but originally from *Enotria*, or ancient *Italy*. 'There, says he, the knowing in their history affirm that one *Italus* reigned, who gave his Name to that European Promontory lying between the *Scylletic* and *Lamiae* Bays, and changed that of the Inhabitants from *Enotrians* to *Italians*, and likewise their Manner of life to Agriculture from Pasturage. He was the Author of many Laws, and among the Rest first instituted the *Συσσιτια*, or public Tables, long before the Days of *Minos*.*

But from which soever Country the happy Institution came, it is sufficient for our Purpose that it was practised in both; as were many other Rites that show a Similitude of Manners: Men are not more apt to carry any one Thing abroad than a Tincture of their native Religion, even though they have not been extremely devout at home. The

* Τῆτον δὲ λέγουσιν τὸν Ἰταλὸν νομάδας τὰς ὀνότρεις ὄντας ποιῆσαι γεωργίας, καὶ νόμους ἄλλους τε αὐτοῖς δέσθαι, καὶ τὰ Συσσιτια κατεστησάαι πρῶτον.

Pelasgi, expelled from *Argos*, and settling in Italy, built a Temple in *Valerium* to the great *Argive* Goddess Juno, and appointed a Priests and Ceremonies in the same Manner as those practised in *Greece*: Other Tribes transferred the Appellations of the Hills and Vales of their Mother-country to their new Habitations in Italy: thus the Capitulin-Mount was consecrated by the *Eleans*, who came over with the Planter and Preserver of many Nations, Hercules, to ancient Saturn, in imitation of the Λοφος Κρονιος, the famed *Saturnian-hill* in Elis; upon the banks of *Alpheus* in the *Piscean* Territory: and, in a word, the People of *Peloponnesus* occupied the Country, and founded the little Cities that subsisted for more than seven hundred years, all around ancient *Rome*⁵.

And here, for the sake of such as are less acquainted with the affairs of *Greece*, the Fountain of arts, and Honor of Humanity, it may be proper to observe, that of all the Grecians the people of the *Peloponnesus* were the most famed for public and private virtue; and of all the *Peloponnesians*, the *Doric-tribe* were distinguished by their Bravery and Temperance; and accordingly their *Dialect*, when compared with the other Grecian Idioms, their *Music*, their *Architecture*, and to sum up all, their Manners are of a peculiar

⁵ Πόλεις ἔκτισαν ἄλλας τε τινάς, ἢ τὰς μέχρι τῶδε οἰκισμένας, Ἀντεμνατάς, τε ἢ Τεαλινεῖς ἢ Φικιοανέας τὰς πρὸς τοῖς καλουμένοις Κορινθίοις ὄρεσι, καὶ Τυβαρτινας.

manly Stamp, marvellously expressive of the Vigor and Virtue of their Authors. Now *these* were the Forefathers of the Italic nations, who being by degrees incorporated into the City, made up the Body of the Roman State, and who, without all doubt, retained as great a Resemblance of the Spirit and Character of their *Peloponnesian* Progenitors, as their Language, the Latin, peculiarly resembles the *Dorian* Dialect.

Before I mention a third Source of the Roman Virtue, to obviate the surprize it might probably occasion, I beg leave to premise, that as there are two Sorts of *Character*, a public and a private, two Sorts of *Religion*, a public and a private, in the same Manner there are two Sorts of Wisdom or *Philosophy*: So that in a well ordered, incorrupt State, Men by living according to the Laws and Usages, may live very virtuously and *philosophical*ly, though the *Individuals* be utterly illiterate, and ignorant of the *Reasons* of their excellent Institutions. After this, I will own it is my opinion, that as in forming most things of Value in Life, Philosophy joined its benign influence in modelling the Manners of the ancient *Romans*. I think so, not only because the plans of the two celebrated States from whence the Planters of *Italy* originally came, Crete and Lacedemon, were laid with the truest and deepest *Philosophy*; and whose *Spirit* must surely be propagated with the spreading of their Progeny; but because the most *national legislative* Sect that ever appeared in Europe was flourishing in *Italy*, more than in any Spot

Spot on the Globe, *just about the time the Roman Manners were taking their true Temper, and they were beginning to know the worth of Laws and a Constitution.*

Under the reign of *Servius Tullius*, the penult King of *Rome*, *Pythagoras the Samian* is said to have come to *Italy*, and fixed his school, or rather *philosophic Common-wealth*, at *Crotona*. His Scholars were not boys, or even youths, but Citizens of the greatest respect from that and the neighbouring States: Of these he had sometimes upwards of six hundred, living together in social Silence, improving their minds and framing their manners according to the strictest rules of sobriety and virtue. The Pythagorean life was far from being purely speculative; but joining *Exercise* to Instruction, it laid deep hold of the Passions, and formed those *Habits* that make and preserve the Happiness of men. It was received like a divine Revelation over all the South of *Italy*, its Author being supposed to work many Miracles, and his Doctrine working many more in the reformation of Cities and Nations, as well as in changing the Morals of private persons. It was in high vogue at that nick of time^a when the Romans were forming into a free State, and

^a *Pythagoras* came to *Italy* in the LXII Olympiad, according to *Jamblichus*; the Consular Period began in *Rome* in the LXVII, that is, about five-and-twenty years after the Philosopher's arrival, when his doctrine, by the high prosperity of *Crotona*, which had embraced it, was in the greatest Reputation.

feeling the want of a sound Policy. We accordingly discover many vestiges of it in their Reli-

⁷ There was so much of it in *Numa's* Institutions, that it gave occasion to a generally received, though false opinion, that he had been a disciple of *Pythagoras*, who lived five generations later than *Numa*. This mistake might perhaps arise from another *Pythagoras*, a *Spartan*, and victor at the *Olympic* games, having come over to *Italy*, and instructed *Numa* in the *Spartan* laws, as *Plutarch* relates in the life of the Roman Law-giver. A remarkable *Pythagoric* rite prevailed in both countries, of rearing temples to divinities without statue or image, and of consecrating those *Passions* that are the Bands of societies, and Springs of action, such as Fear, Faith, and the Public Mind. One of the most sacred temples in *Lacedemon*, was that of the Goddess *Fear*, whom they worshipped not by expiations, as a malevolent hurtful Power, but honored as the *Bond* that held fast and preserved their Constitution: they had likewise temples consecrated to Death, to Laughter, and such other *Passions* as bear sway over *Humanity* *. In the same manner the Romans had early erected a temple to *Fides* †, and some hundreds of years afterwards, when Sculpture was admitted, the Statue of this Divinity was placed next to *Jove* himself in the Capitol, as the *second* power that protected the State ††: there was something more noble in the Roman Idea of ascribing the preservation of their Polity to *Honor* and *Honesty*, than in the *Spartan* worship of *Fear*, though they are both true; and the choice shows only the different *Genius* of the people; as do likewise the temples dedicated to the prime of political Powers *Liberty*, and to her first-born *Mens*, a sound Mind, or salutary public Disposition **.

* Πλατάρχ. Αγίς καὶ Κλεομένης.

† See p. 35

†† *Fides* — quam in Capitolio vicinam Jovis opt. max. majores nostri esse voluerunt. M. T. Cicer. de Offic. Lib. III.

** *Mens quoque numen habet, Menti delubra videmus Vota, metu belli, perfide Pœne tui.* Ovid. Fastor.

gion and Laws', and would have seen many more, had not their greatest Patriots, and best acquainted with their Antiquities, chose rather to appear *Inventors* themselves of their wondrous Discipline, than acknowledge it as a debt to a Foreigner^a.

But the grand Source of the Roman Manners, of their Policy both public and private, and consequently of all their Glory and Grandeur, remains yet unmentioned. I believe they owed them at first to the Mother of many virtues, *Necessity*, and afterwards to a Discipline raised upon it, and kept in vigor by the same cause from which it originally sprang. It is a Truth confirmed by universal experience, '*That Danger from abroad creates love and concord at home;*' and never was it more strictly verified than in the early ages of Rome. The young State was assailed on all hands by the bordering nations, who both envied their sudden growth, and dreaded their spirit and power. Even Alba their mother-city soon looked with a jealous eye upon the prosperity of her sons; and turning their Rival, joined with the common Enemy for their destruction. The *Volsci* and *Equi* succeeded, the *Sabines* and the *Samnites* came often in play, the *Latins* and *Etrurians* took up the quarrel, and the impetuous *Gauls* hung a constant terror over their heads. In a word, King after King, State after State, came by force

^a *Pythagoræ autem doctrina, cum longè latèque flueret, permanavisse mihi videtur in hanc civitatem — Multa sunt*

of Arms to bear down or extirpate the rising Republic. From *these* Attacks, and from this perilous way of life, the Romans learned the worth of a Home, and the value of a Fellow-citizen to rescue them from the sword of the Enemy: Hence, the supreme *Love* of their *Country*, and hence the Honors of the *Civic-Crown*! The more furious these Attacks were, the braver men they produced, and the more intense the Danger ward off, the bolder and better prepared it found them the next occasion.

To the same *Necessity* they owed that *Order* of their Armies and *military* Discipline, which came afterwards to be at once the wonder and terror of the World. A powerful Enemy on the watch to surprise you, and erase your Country, makes you secure your *Camp*: and a whole State going out to battle without a friendly Spot in view, will produce a *cautious* and *orderly* *March*. It was *this* Discipline, the produce of a thousand dangers, of many a weary night, and many a bloody day, that gave them at last such a superiority over all that durst affront them in the field, and made a life under arms no great hardship to a native Roman.

From the same *Necessity* arose their inflexible attachment to, and veneration for *this* their military

etiam in nostris institutis ducta a Pythagoreis, quæ prætereo, ne ea quæ peperisse ipsi putamur, aliunde didicisse videamur.

M. T. Cicer. Tuscul. Lib. IV.

Discipline; which they well knew to be the Prop of their State, and *sole* salvation from an insulting Foe*. To *this* they sacrificed their sons, and nearest in blood; and for *this* many a noble Youth lost his head who had fought and conquered contrary to *Orders*. Danger staring you in the face makes Men's spirits *eager*, whets their passions, and *steels* their breast; in which condition, unhappy the object that withstands them, or looks for pity at their hands!

The same *Necessity* produced a train of Sister-virtues; *inviolable Fidelity* in treaties, and *cordial Affection* to their allies. They knew not how soon they might have occasion for a powerful assistance; — might stand in need of *heartly* and *zealous* services, — quick and sure Intelligence, — supplies of Provisions, — Horses, Recruits; and still more of the hearts and hands of their Confederates in the decisive day between them and a cruel Enemy. *These*, they knew, were to be purchased only by *good usage*, fair dealing, a steady faithful adherence to them, and their Interests in the time of danger, and securing to them the full enjoyment of their Properties and Privileges in time of peace.

Let us not be offended at ascribing so much to Necessity: a little Reflection on ourselves, and our

* *Quandoquidem tu, Tite Manli, neque imperium consulare, neque majestatem patriam veritus, adversus edictum nostrum extra ordinem pugnavisti, & quantum in Te fuit, Disciplinam Militarem, quâ stetit ad hunc diem Romana res, solvisti—morte tuâ sancienda sunt Coss. imperia. I, Lictor, deliga ad Palum.*

conduct, in private life, will convince us that we owe more of our wisdom and character to it, than perhaps we are aware: But in public, how hard soever the Saying may appear, it is certain that a Nation must be scourged into the principles of Liberty and practice of national Virtue: sometimes by Perils from abroad, like the *Venetians*; sometimes by a Tract of insult and opposition at home, like the *Dutch*; the softest Mean being the *Example* of suffering Friends and Allies, and therefore the least effectual. But no Learning nor Politeness, no Elegance of taste, or knowledge of the finer Arts, will ever inspire a people with the rough manly exalted Thought of *being free!* — far less can they give the animating Spirit necessary to reduce the thought into practice, and actually *assert* themselves into Liberty; and less still the Courage and Constancy requisite to maintain the *Struggle* usually entailed upon the glorious Acquisition. Rome in her first stages, had all sorts of *Necessities* successively administered to her, as it were by the *hand of Providence*, in order to raise her to be the Mistress of nations, and head of Empire, — and her Virtues rose in proportion to them: But when her *Necessities* were withdrawn, when she had nothing more to fear from abroad, her Virtues sunk in the same proportion they had risen, and like a Wrestler who has foiled every Antagonist, immersed in Sloth and Debauchery, she turned corpulent, torpid, and unwieldy, and hatched the Humors that hastened her Dissolution.

These, if I mistake not, were the Chief Sources

of the Roman Virtues, and *this* the fated Chain of co-operating Accidents, that led them to their *civil, military, and religious* Constitution. A Constitution so happily framed as to be the Spring of foreign Power by a train of *Conquest*, and to give play to all the better Passions at home, and artfully turn them to the service of the Public: for such were the Steps by which a Roman Citizen rose to the *Consulship*, became supreme Magistrate in Rome, that is almost *Lord of the World* for one year, and of some one of its finest Provinces for two or three following. But its chief Tendency was to inspire *military* Virtue, and the *Characteristic* of Rome was its being a State fitted for *acquiring and keeping* an immense Dominion.

It is commonly said, that providing a Nation were sure of having always good Kings, the happiest Polity would be *absolute Despotism*. I believe upon that supposition, which in no long Succession was ever yet verified, and is therefore absurd, a Nation would be liable to the fewest *Abuses* of Government: But that the *Grandeur* of the People would be most promoted by that Establishment, (even allowing it possible) is against Reason and Experience. Let us make a necessary Distinction between a Model adapted to *domestic Quiet*, and a Constitution calculated for *Conquest* and Propagation of Empire: They are two different Ends, and require different Means. Unhappy the People said an admired Author, whose King is a *Hero!* and the great northern Conqueror Gustavus, being complimented by one of his Courtiers with that

Appellation, said with an Ingenuity worthy of it, that ' *He* and such as *he*, instead of Blessings, were the Plagues of Earth, and Scourges in the Hands of God to chastise the Corruptions of Men. A Nation therefore proposing to live contented within its ancient Limits, and enjoy peace and ease at home, may obtain these ends, by a Form of Government quite *incapable* of extending their Territory, or from a small or middling State raising it to a great Empire. The *Romans* were led by their early Fortunes to a *Form* peculiarly fitted for Conquest, I mean the *Consular-Plan*; the *Energy* of which seems to lie in *these two*.

In the first place, *Kings* are *Men*, and no *one* Man placed in a high Dignity for life, will exert himself with that Vigor in the discharge of it, that another will do, who must found his whole Reputation upon the Exercise of it *for one year*: Nor is it possible for any Man to keep up to that *pitch* of Spirit and Activity throughout his whole Course, or indeed a few years of it, either through Satety, Inconstancy, a change of Health or Temper, which a fresh *Succession* of Men will certainly do, entering upon their Command in the prime of their Strength and Reason, and vying with one another for Superiority of Fame. Our *English* Negociator and Pattern of a *fine Gentleman*, Sir William Temple, says, he has known many an important Project spoilt by a minister's falling ill of the Spleen, and many a noble Enterprize miscarry through a General's being suddenly taken with the Gout. We accordingly hear of few Consulships, in which

there is not something *remarkable* performed, either in the City or the Field:— if otherwise, it is told as a kind of Wonder or Reproach: but how many listless Years thrown away by Monarchs in Idleness and Inactivity? But it is no longer a Doubt among Statesmen, whether drowsy Peace and lethargic Quiet be more profitable for a *rising* Nation, than interjected Struggles to awake its Passions, make it feel its own strength or weakness, and teach it what Virtue really is, and what Wonders it can bring to pass. By *Virtue* I mean national *Temperance*, with its followers *Frugality* and *Fortitude*, and their attendants, *Justice* and good *Discipline*: Things that are never to be learned in Prosperity and Ease, and without which no Nation's Name ever stood fair in the records of Fame. But among all the human Passions there is not one produces greater Effects, or achieves more difficult Undertakings, than a *noble Emulation*; and never had it a fairer field, than between the two *annual* Magistrates of Rome. It frequently began early, while they were standing for the inferior Offices; and seldom failed in the *Competition* for the Consulship: after which the chief Anxiety of either Consul was, that his *Colleague* should not return triumphant to *Rome*, crowned with Glory for his after-life, while *he* remained obscure, or marked with ignominy. And this Anxiety, like a powerful *Stimulus*, made them eager on War, and impatient to do something worthy of the Admiration of their Fellow-citizens: Many a Battle was given ere their *Colleague* should come up, to keep the honor of the Victory entire, which under

another General would never have been risked; and many a *furious Push* made to *finish* a war during their own Command, lest the Fruit of their Fatigues and Dangers should be reaped by their *Successor*. These Pushes were generally made at the *Expense* of the Enemy, and their *Profit* accrued to the growing Republic.

In the first ages of the Commonwealth, it was *understood* the two new Consuls should take the field as soon as the Season permitted: *War* they laid their account with, and longed for, as the sole Road to Triumphs, and Foundation of their future Fame: Incredible was the Spirit with which they set about it, and their intense Keeness, Constancy, and Vigilance surmounted Obstacles, and accomplished Enterprises till then thought impracticable by Mortals. If Rome had received any Affront, if their Ambassadors had been maltreated, their Provinces harassed, their Trade injured, or especially if their *Allies* had been invaded, the new *Consul* was ordered to march to their relief: And when he laid aside his Senator's Robe, put on his military Dress¹, and with the Lictors in their warlike Accoutrements, and the Band of Trumpets playing before him; when thus I say, he marched out at the head of the Legions from Rome, "*Wo to the Nation against whom he pointed his sword!*" By the *Senate's* Decree every thing was appointed for his March; — the numbers of

¹ Ad bellum cum exit Imperator, ac Lictores mutant vestem, et signa incinuerunt Palutatus dicitur proficisci.

M. Ter. Varro de Ling. lat. Lib. VI.

his Foot and Horse, — the quantity of Provisions, Forage and Clothing; what *Allies* he was to call to his assistance, and what *Terms*, ere he began hostilities, he was to offer the Enemy: Yet still a great discretionary Power was left to himself, to act according to Emergencies. In this Order, surrounded by a Troop of young *Patricians* ardent for glory, and old veteran *Tribunes* and *Centurions*, commanding the best disciplined, most obedient, and consequently most dreadful Armies the Sun ever saw, he approached the hostile Frontier. When arrived upon the Borders, he sent his *Herald* to hold out the Roman Justice and Clemency with one hand, and point to the *formidable Legions* with the other. If the Conditions prescribed by the Consul were accepted, he immediately wrote to the *Senate* of the Nation's Submission, and desired Orders to lead against another Enemy: but if the profered Conditions (frequently pretty severe) were rejected, he then advanced into the Heart of the Country, counting every Step he took, and informed of every Hill and River he passed. His Camp he fortified at every Movement like a *City*, and his Troops lived in it with more, I need not say Regularity, but *Sobriety*, upon their plain *vegetable* Diet, than their Fellow-citizens were doing on their Farms about Rome. In this cautious and steady manner he passed on, giving no Advantages, and ready to grasp at every one which a divided Country, or unwary Foe might give, or which his own Experience when *Volunteer*, *Pretor*, *Questor*, or *Lieutenant* to

former Consuls, could teach him to take. He had no Interest to pursue but the Grandeur of Rome, and his own Glory, — no Treachery nor Mutiny to fear; — Every thing plied before him. To come to a *Battle* was his supreme Wish, that he might decide the War at a Blow; but if that did not favor him, he penetrated into the most populous Provinces, distressed the chief Towns, and either had them surrendered upon Conditions, or else the *Vine-works* were played, the *Tortoise* was applied, or the *battering Ram* thundering on the Walls, in a short time made the *Roman Consul* their Master. Those who capitulated were sure to have the Articles sacredly observed, their Persons kept inviolate, their Privileges confirmed or enlarged, and if under an oppressive Government, their *Condition* certainly made better than before. All this the *Consul* pressed on impatient, that if possible he might put an end to the War with the Campaign, and return to the Object of his Wishes, and Pride of his Heart, the Triumph, that is, To enjoy the Applause and Admiration of his Citizens, and the Approbation of a set of such God-like Men, as himself during the rest of his Life.

This was the usual and *annual* course of the Consular Government. When we attentively consider it, we are less apt to wonder if they increased so mightily, and conquered so rapidly, once it was fairly established, and they at full Liberty to follow its Dictates, indulge the *Spirit* it inspired, and take *their Swing* in its Execution. To this

then *Rome* chiefly owed her Majesty, and the *Romans* their Empire: — To that *Succession of annual Sovereigns*, who had rose by degrees to the supreme Command, and whose *Merits or Misdemeanours* in that high Office were to make them forever the Object of the *Admiration, or Scorn of their People*.

The second Character of conquering *Rome* was the corresponding *Freedom* of her Civil Constitution. Though the Keeness and Capacity of a General will do wonders, even with an indifferent Army, yet if they are not *seconded* by the Ardor and Bravery of the Troops, he must meet with many Checks, and probably a fatal *Reverse* of Fortune in the Issue: But that Bravery and Spirit is solely the Gift of *public Liberty* and *private Temperance*. It is no rigid cramped Establishment, nor strict Regulations, like the Rules of a *Convent*, that produce great Genius's, or Men fit for Action. There must be *room* for Struggles to raise the Spirits, — I say *room* for them, *allowed* by the *Constitution*: where all is *Command* on one hand, and all *Submission* and *Obedience* on the other, there is no *room* nor *occasion* for Vivacity, Activity, Generosity, Intrepidity, Constancy, Eloquence, Address, and a train of Virtues necessary to surmount Difficulties, distress Enemies, oblige Friends, lead in the *Forum*, or lord it in the *Field*. There must be *Play* for the Passions to awake them, and *Experience* must teach the *measures* of their Government. A Man must mount in the war-saddle, who would be a *Master* in Horsemanship; and he must exercise the Foile, who would excel at the

Sword. The *Romans* were conquering abroad, when they were engaged in high *Contests* of the Nobles and Commons at home. While these *Contests* were managed in a *legal* and *regular* manner, like *Dissensions* among *Fellow-citizens*, they only whetted their spirits, and roused their mettle: they showed the *People* that they were *free Men*, and the *Nobility* that they must recommend themselves by their Capacity, Bravery, and Worth, or be despised. No ancient blood, no Merit of Ancestors was to palliate the Sloth, the Pride, the Arrogance of an effeminate young Lord, though descended from the *Decii* or the *Fabii*, while a bold eloquent *Tribune* was instructing the Roman *People* in their native Rights, and inflaming their Contempt of *worthless Nobility*.

The Wonder was, that a Spirit running so high between jarring violent *Factions*, should have been attended with such Submission to the Laws, and Deference to public Authority: And indeed the Management of the first Broils between the Nobles and Commons, is a grand proof of the *Innocence* of their Manners, and the *primitive Temper* of the *People*. The Commons, who thought themselves oppressed, sought no pretence to color their *Secession*, either from *Religion*, or the *Good* of the *Public*. They did not secretly make provision of Arms, and enlist under Leaders to *extort* their Demands; nor did they even come and seize upon the *Forum*, to pass *partial* Laws and exclude their Adversaries from their ancient Rights: No; they were not yet instructed by such

Men as *Pub. Clodius* and *Julius Cæsar* in the pernicious Politic of putting a *legal Face* upon an *illegal Action*. They gathered openly in a Body, plainly owned their Grudge at the exorbitant Wealth and Privileges of the *Patricians*, and retiring from the City, sat down on the side of a neighbouring Hill, obstinately refusing to bear any longer the Burden of the State, without better Conditions².

By such Struggles as these the *Spirit* of the Commons was raised; they were made *conscious* of their Weight and Independency; and when their Country called to Arms, became fit Instruments to second the restless Ambition of the Consuls. Their early Poverty, and the Distresses of their State, had produced their admirable Discipline and Virtues; — and these Virtues *freely exercised* under their happy Constitution, produced the peculiar and exalted Character of the *ancient Romans*: A People inexorably *firm* to Public Good, *brave*, *generous* and *just*, dreading Dishonor more than death, loving Fame more than life, and the Soul of a Hero in the Breast of every Citizen.

It is not therefore, as was said, a *severe Police*, nor a Multiplicity of *Laws strictly practised*, that fits a Nation for Conquest and permanent Empire. There were *many* such States in Italy and Greece that were absorbed by the *superior Genius* of war-like Rome. The Locrians are celebrated by two

² T. Livii Hist. Lib. II.

of the greatest Judges³, as the best regulated State in the world. Their Laws were drawn from the *Cretan, Spartan, and Areopagitic* Models, refined and made more precise by the famed *Zaleucus*. Yet they made no *Conquests*, while *Rome* was subduing all around it, and reduced at last the *Locrians* themselves under the Roman Yoke. Even hardy *Sparta*, though modelled to *military Virtue*, and its Constitution profoundly contrived to frame the Citizens for *Soldiers*, from and before their Cradle, found it impossible at once to grasp a wide Dominion, and retain its precise Polity. They made glorious Stands in defence of Greece; and did Wonders while after the Campaign they could winter in *Lacedemon*. — But no sooner took they footing in a foreign Clime, than like a Plant torn from its natural soil, they lost at once their Laws, Liberties and Virtue; and became so far the Reverse of their Ancestors, that when *Titus Flaminius* came over, the Deliverer of enthralled Greece, he found the *Spartans* abject Slaves under a cruel Tyranny⁴.

These two *Characteristics* of the *Roman* Constitution, a restless executive power, always on the Rack when not in action, and a national Independence producing a fierce undaunted People to fill their Legions, combined with their original

³ Λακροί — οἱ δὴ δοκῶσιν εὐνομήλατον τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον γεγονέναι. Πλατων. Νομ. Α. And the most judicious Strabo. Πρῶτοι δὲ νόμοις ἐνγραφτοῖς χρῆσασθαι πεπιστευμένοι εἰσὶν οἱ Λακροί, καὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον εὐνομηθέντες — Τῆτο δὲ καὶ Πλατων εἴρηκεν, ὅτι παρ' οἷς πλεῖστοι νόμοι καὶ δίκαι, παρὰ τούτοις καὶ βίαι μαχθηροί.

Στραβων. βιβ. 5.

⁴ Πολυβίη Ιστορ. βιβ.

Manners and Fortunes, to produce the peculiar predominating character of Rome, to wit, *A military State equally fitted to make Conquests and to keep them.*

Let us for a moment revolve in our minds the Rise and Progress of this wondrous People; we will find that *Rome* was no upstart State; no favorite of Fortune, of a sudden growth and as sudden decay. It owed its Grandeur to no sudden Run of Felicity, nor acquired its Dominion by a Career of Victories obtained without a check: No—

*It was by awful Deeds,
Virtues and Courage that amaze mankind,
The Queen of Nations rose'. —*

The City was more founded in the Blood of the *Horatii*, the *Decii*, the *Curtii*, than in that of the Twin-brother⁶ or of the *Sabine King*⁷: Its Liberty was bought of the Blood of the *Bruti*, and of all that fell in the *Tuscan* Invasion: But who can recount the Millions of brave Men that perished in the Propagation of the Empire? Rome itself was sacked by the *Gauls*: *Porfenna* and *Pyrrhus* routed their Armies. — The *Samnites* made them ignominiously pass under a yoke. Their legions were again and again cut to pieces by *Hannibal*, who slew their Consuls, laid waste their Towns, distressed their Allies, and marched through *Italy* from the northern *Alps*, to the southmost Point in *Abruzzo*.

Here then is the *shining Distinction* of the Roman Republic, which separates them from the

⁶ Liberty, a poem by Mr. Thomson.

⁷ Remus.

⁸ Titus Tatius.

Founders of the greatest Empires prior to the *Consular Establishment*, 'that they were not for one
' Generation or two a warlike victorious People.
' — Nor was it by the lucky Issue of one Expe-
' dition, or Fate of a few Battles, that they pur-
' chased their mighty Dominion : But they were
' a Nation of Soldiers, a conquering triumphant
' State, that amid a thousand Traverses of adverse
' Fortune, and conspiring Disasters, maintained a
' bloody Struggle against the greatest Powers then
' in being, for upwards of four hundred Years,
' and in that space by a steady Course of private
' and public Virtue conquered the most warlike
' Nations of the then known World.'

Three Battles, two with the *Assyrians*, and one with the *Lydians*, laid the Foundation of the *Persian Empire*; and other three, at *Granicus*, *Iffus*, and *Arbela*, transferred it to *Alexander* and the *Grecians*. An equal number of capital Engagements made *Gengis-Can* Master of *Asia*; and two gave *Mangi* or South-*China* into the Hands of *Cubli-Can*, his great Grandson. The *Saracens*, excepting the *Crusados*, purchased *Egypt* and *Africa* at the Expense of very little Blood; and the *Turks* had the eastern Empire upon no harder Conditions. But there was not a little *District* all around *Rome*, which sooner or later had not cost a cruel Struggle, nor scarce a Province (except the Legacies of *Attalus* and *Nicomedes*) which was not the Price of Roman Blood, earned by many a weary March, and many a fierce Conflict: So that to sum up all, we may affirm, that the *Romans* fought

more Battles for the Possession of *Spain* alone, than the greatest Conquerors upon record did for the utmost Extent of their Dominion. And this, as it was the original Cause of the Roman Elevation, so it continued the incessant Source of their Superiority to all their Rivals. *Prowess in Arms* is no transient Fit of boiling Courage, nor an impetuous rushing to battle. It is a calm Habit of enduring Toil, of smiling undaunted at Danger, and dreading Death less than Disgrace.

A Habit, I say, acquired by constant *Exercise*, — that sort of Exercise from which the Romans peculiarly named their *Army*, (*Exercitus*) and formed their alternate phrase, *at home or abroad*^a, to signify the better half of a *Roman's* Life was in *Warfare*. Had this aspiring People in their Beginnings found great Facility in reducing the neighbouring States, and become *Masters of Italy* with no long or lasting Struggle, it is not probable they had ever gone farther. They had probably sat down contented with so noble an Acquisition, and like the *Sybarites* or *Tarentines* given themselves up to Ease and Effeminacy. It was early and uninterrupted *Exercise* in War, that made the Roman *Legions* so terrible; and the *Distresses* and *Pressures* that threatened the recent Republic with ruin, became the grand Means of its future Glory. It is the *Want* of such warlike Necessities, if I may so speak, that brings *Rust* upon the Arms, and *Marcidity* upon the Spirits of a People; and the

^a Domi & militiæ.

not being *pressed* by these *Necessities*, having no potent ambitious Neighbour to fear, no haughty Rival to contend with, is the ordinary Cause of the *Decline of Empires*, and clearly explains what they call the *Youth*, *Manhood*, and *old Age* of a State'. One of our northern Heroes, depressed by Fortune and raised by his Virtue, the famous King Robert Bruce, left it as his last Advice to his People, *To make only Truces, but never a long Peace with their Neighbours*: And from the founding of *Rome* to the Age of *Augustus*, the Temple of *two-faced Janus*, had been but *twice* shut; once under the Kings, by *Numa*, and once between the first and second *Punic* war, under the Consulships of *C. Atinius Bulbus*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus* the conqueror of *Sardinia*'. War exhausts other Nations who wage it by *Mercenaries*, whether their own or Foreigners: but it was no more than wholesome *Exercise* to the Romans, who by their *Constitution* were all Soldiers. They had no standing Armies, nor old Officers, either on half or whole Pay: But every Consul, Proconsul, or Pretor, was a *veteran General*, and every Citizen was trained to Arms, who was able to bear them. The highest Commissions, especially the Governments of the great Provinces, were often given by the judgment of the *Senate*, and sometimes by the Votes of the *People*; the inferior were left to the *Choice* of the General and their former Rank; the Body of the Soldiery were all *Volunteers*, assembled by the Concourse of the

^o *Despiertanse unos a otros los Reyes, y adormecense tambien.*
L. Gracian. El pol. Fernando.

ⁱ Anno U. C. DXIIX.

Roman Youth, about the new-commissioned Consul, when he placed his Tribunal in the *Forum*, and from the *Censor's Roll* called the Citizens fit for Warfare to give their Names, and take the Oath of Obedience to their new Leader: By these means *Arms went round*. — and the old Veteran, now a Citizen, at the end of the Campaign judged both of the Conduct of the General, and Courage of the Soldiery.

Under the Power of *this* Government, and under the Influence of these combining *Causes*, grew the glorious Republic of Rome; that Republic, which its civil and military Order raised to be ‘*the Pride of Earth, the Centre of Nations, where every Virtue, heightened by Emulation, and a noble Thirst of Fame beamed forth for the Benefit of Mankind*’:² For this generous People were no brutal bloody Conquerors. — Their Dominion, if so, had been of short Duration: but to an inflexible Resistance to an *armed Foe*, joining unfeigned Clemency in the *vanquished*, and raising themselves as ’twere above the Power of Fortune, by asking no other Terms in their highest Prosperity than those they had demanded *before* they were Victors; and disdaining to accept of any in their *lowest State* but those they had proposed in their most flourishing Condition, they became at once the Wonder and Dread of all the Nations that heard the Name of Rome. And first, in the space of two hundred and forty-five Years from the Establishment

² Mr. Thomson.

of their Liberty, they had made all the *Italic* States, from the *Gallic Alps* to the *Sicilian Sea*, either their Allies or Subjects. — This was the grand *School* of the Roman Discipline, where her Consuls and Legions learned the Art of War; and where (for a Specimen) the *Samnites* alone afforded Materials for *four-and-twenty* Triumphs. Adjacent Sicily first called them *beyond Sea*, to assist their Allies against the *Carthaginian* Invaders; and after a fifty - two Years War the famous *Cl. Marcellus*, by taking *Syracuse*, in spite of the Menaces of *Hannibal* or Machines of *Archimedes*, reduced it to a Roman Province. *M. Atilius Regulus*, immortal through Contempt of Life, first carried the Roman army into Africa. The elder *Scipio*, by the final defeat of *Hannibal*, humbled the Pride of its *mercantile Metropolis*, and his adopted Grandson, the *Emilian Scipio*, by rasing Carthage, made its Domain tributary about two hundred Years after the first Expedition. Other two hundred Years intervened from the fatal March of the Brother - *Scipios* into Spain, to its being totally reduced by *Augustus Cæsar*. The *Macedonian Phalanx* was foiled by the ancient consul *Paulus Emilius*; the firm *Achean - League*, the last Effort of *Grecian Liberty*, was broke by the rude *L. Mummius*; and *Fulvius Nobilior* brought down the stubborn Spirit of the ferocious *Etolians*. All Asia on this side Mount *Taurus* was taken from the vain *Antiochus* by *Lucius Scipio*, the great *Scipio's* Brother, and given by the Roman Senate to their fast Friends the *Pergamenian Kings*; but

it returned to Rome with the Legacy of *Attalus*, when the Pretender *Aristonicus* was taken by *M. Perperna*. The fair Isle of Cyprus fell as 'twere into their Lap, by the voluntary Death of its profligate Prince, *Ptolomy*, stung by an evil Conscience, and terrified by the Name of the inexorable Cato. The Border of the fierce *Transalpine Gauls* was first entered by *Domitius Enobarbus* and *Fabius Maximus*, who, contrary to the Roman Custom, fondly reared *Pillars* on the Field of Battle as Monuments of their Victories; but the entire Reduction of Gaul was, with *evil Intent*, made seventy years thereafter, by that Foe to Freedom *Julius Cæsar* ³.

This was the Run of the Conquests of Rome, which, from a city begun with about *three thousand Men* ⁴ in four hundred and sixty years during the Consular Period, became indeed the Head of the World; For all was now subdued to the West, and the *Atlantic Ocean* was the Limit of their Sway, when by the Virtue and Conduct of *Cneius Pompey*, deservedly named the Great, its Dominion was almost doubled to the *East*, by making the *lesser Asia*, formerly its Boundary on that side, now almost the *Centre* of the Empire. This eminent Youth, of a noble manly Aspect, and grave Deportment, when but three-and-twenty years of Age, levied no inconsiderable Body of Troops among his Family-Clients, and joining the better Party in

³ C. Vellei Patercul. Lib II. §. 38.

⁴ Τίς γὰρ πόλις ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀρξαμένη ἐν οὐδ' ὅλοις ἔτεσιν ἑξακοσίαις ἐπὶ γῆς ἤλθε πέρατα ταῖς ὁπλοῖς.

Ἰσλιανᾶ Αὐτοῦ Κρατοῦ.

the civil Wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*, began his Warfare by vindicating the Dignity of his oppressed Country. Then he rescued *Sicily*; and from thence passing over to *Afric*, and reducing it from one end to the other to its former Obedience, he from thence brought home the Appellation of Great, and (what never Man had done before) while yet a *Roman Knight*, entered the City in a Triumphal-Chariot. Being next sent to reduce *Spain*, then held by *Sertorius*, he reckoned upwards of eight hundred Towns stormed and surrendered between the *Pyrenean Mountains*, and farthest parts of *Portugal*; and with a peculiar Greatness of Mind, suppressing what he had done against so great a Captain as *Sertorius*, triumphed again, still a *Knight*, though so often a *General*. But these mighty Deeds, sufficient to sustain the Reputation of a whole Life, are in some measure eclipsed by the splendor of his Victories in the East. It would require Volumes to describe them; and the Loss of his Secretary's Memoirs (the famed *Theophanes* of *Mitylene*, a Man of vast Capacity and no less Learning) is deeply to be regreted. Some Idea of his rapid Career of Victory we may gather from the Inscription of a Temple to *Minerva*, the Goddess of Wisdom and well conducted War, which he vowed at his setting out. It runs thus.

C. N. POMPEY THE GREAT, COMMANDER IN CHIEF,

HAVING FINISHED A WAR OF THIRTY YEARS,
HAVING DISCOMFITED, SLAIN OR RECEIVED
TO MERCY

TWO MILLION AND EIGHTY THREE THOUSAND
MEN¹,

HAVING SUNK, BURNT OR TAKEN EIGHT
HUNDRED AND FORTY SIX SHIPS,
HAVING HAD ONE THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED AND
THIRTY EIGHT

TOWNS AND CASTLES SURRENDER'D UPON
TERMS,

AND HAVING CONQUERED THE COUNTRIES
FROM THE

BLACK UNTO THE *RED* SEA,

PAID, AS DUE, HIS VOW TO MINERVA².

This was the Summary of this great Man's Expedition to the *East*: The Articles of it are *weighty*, and the last of them, the *Extent* of conquered Lands, will be better understood by those acquainted with *ancient* Geography; as that immense Tract of Country, first depopulated by the *Saracen* and *Tartar* Incursions, and now kept waste by the Tyranny of the *Turks*, was formerly full of great Cities, and inhabited by rich and populous Nations. For after giving the final Blow to *Mithridates* (the most redoubted Enemy, after *Hannibal*, the Romans ever had) in a Night-Battle in *Armenia*, having received Homage, and an immense Sum for the

¹ The Numbers differ in Pliny: other Copies read 2,183,000 Men.

² C. Plinii Nat. Hist. Lib. VII. cap. 26.

public Treasury from *Tigranes* the King, he marched into *Media*, thence through *Albania* and *Iberia* to the *Caspian Pass*: and where - ever he marched Victory attended his Motions. Then turning to the Northwest, he forced or voluntarily received the Submission of the King of *Colchus*; of the *Heniochians*, *Acheans*, and other People inhabiting the Recesses of the *Euxine Sea*. From these turning South he carried his victorious Army through *Mesopotamia* to *Syria*, and coming down by Mount *Libanus*, so famous in the *Jewish* Story, through *Damascus*, he had the *Arabs* ready to obey his Commands; but the unhappy divided *Jews* shut their Gates, and endeavoured to defend *Jerusalem*. It was soon taken, but spared; the famous Temple opened, its most secret Recels searched, and Pompey carried *Aristobulus*, the youngest of the Brothers contending for the Throne, who had been the cause of the Resistance made by the *Jews*, in triumph to *Rome*.

He entered the City upon the twenty-eighth of September, the Year that *M. Messala* and *M. Piso* were Consuls, with this Inscription of his Triumph.

“ That having freed the Coast round the *Mediterranean* Sea of Pirates and Robbers, and restored the empire of the Ocean to the Roman People, he triumphed over *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, *Scythia*, *Judea*, *Albania*, *Iberia*, *Bastarnia*, the *Island Crete*, and over *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, the two mightiest Kings of the East.”

But after all these splendid Titles, and more splendid Performances, the most glorious Action which this great Person ever did, remains yet

untold. It was this : That having landed his veteran Legions in *Italy*, when there no Force in the Empire durst have *looked him in the Face* : when the Convulsions and Confusions that had happened in his Absence afforded him a *plausible Pretence* ; nay, when it was almost *expected* he would march to *Rome*, seize upon the Republic, and measure their *Liberty* by his own *Pleasure*—then, then I say, when he had it in his Power, with the greatest *Facility*, to usurp the Government, did Cnejus Pompey the Great reverence the *Laws of his Country*, prefer her *Privileges* to his own *Power*, disband the Army with which he had traversed victorious half the *Globe*, and entered *Rome*, Like a private Citizen. Glorious Man! Patriot in this approved! Pattern of civil and military *Virtue*! Immortal shall be thy *Fame* among all that revere a *Public-Weal*, or are cordial in the *Interests of Humanity* ; while the Names of *Tyrants* and *Usurpers*, who have trampled upon the *Rights of Mankind*, and broke through the *sacred Ties of Society*, shall, however gilded by *Flattery*, or glaring with *Success*, be held in *Abomination by Posterity*.

We have now reviewed the *Constitution* of the Roman Government, and traced the *Causes* of their *Conquests*: it comes naturally next to be considered by what means these *Acquisitions* became so very *permanent*, and so perfectly incorporated with the conquering People, as to be like parts of the *original Empire*. It is a *Maxim in Politics*, founded upon the *Experience of Ages*, That it is much easier to *make conquests than keep them*. — The former is frequently done by the *Gain of one decisive Battle*; the latter can be effected but one of three *Ways*:

either you must *extirpate* the conquered Nation, as the *Spaniards* with execrable Barbarity massacred the *Indians*; or keep constantly an *armed Force* in the Country, superior to the Natives, as the *Saracens* and our *Saxon* Forefathers did in their new-acquired Provinces; or thirdly, you must *win the Hearts* of the vanquished by *bettering their Condition*, which was the method of the *Romans*. Without one of the three, nothing so slippery as a *new Conquest*; and all Histories afford Instances of quick Ebbs and Flows of Fortune, of Kingdoms suddenly won and as suddenly lost, for want of such Precautions. With what Rapidity did Charles VIII. of *France* possess himself of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and a great part of Italy? and with what Facility was he expelled? What amazing Progress made the late Charles XII. of *Sweden*, and how swift the Revolution after the Loss of one *Battle*? Whereas the *Romans* seldom lost a Province that was once in their possession; or if they did, as in the Case of the *Parthian* Inroads into *Syria*, or the *Mithridatic* Incursions into *Asia* and *Greece*, they were generally recovered the very next Campaign. It is worth while to inquire into the *Reasons* of this Difference.

For the first *two hundred Years* of the Republic the *Romans*, among their other Virtues, were inflexibly *Just*. A private Crime was a Prodigy, and a public Iniquity, like Adultery at *Lacedemon*,

⁷ He conquered all *Naples* (except *Brindisi*) in fifteen Days, and lost it within the Year.

⁸ Pultowa in the *Ukraine*.

was utterly unknown. Their *College of Herald*s was an Institution did honor to Mankind. It was a *Council of holy Men appointed to weigh the Grounds of any War, and to determine whether it could be entered upon justly, before it was decreed by the Senate, or commanded by the People.* It did more: It prescribed the precise *Terms* on which it could be *equitably and fairly* declared, and sent one of its own Members accoutred in all the Pomp of *sacred Ensigns* to the State that was the Aggressor, solemnly to demand *Reparation* of Injuries, and to denounce War, *only in case of Refusal.* But Justice, as it is the most *commanding*, is at the same time the most *winning* Virtue among Men. The very Opinion of it creates *Reverence*, and its Effects fail not to conciliate *Trust*, the next Step to *Love*: For we cannot help honoring and secretly approving the Man who gives Sentence even *against* us, when we are once convinced he has done it according to Justice. Where this Virtue presides, there is hardly any other wanting. Among the Sister-train of those produced by the early Distresses of Rome, we mentioned *Faith* in Treaties, and *cordial Affection* to their *Allies*. Some of these they incorporated into the City, and made them wholly Romans; to others they gave particular Immunities and Privileges, as to the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*; — nor were they more jealous of their own Honor or Interest, than of the *Nations* or *Kings*, once admitted to the courted Title of Friends and Allies of the People of Rome.

Wherefore, says an ancient *Jewish Record*, ' *All the Kings and Nations that made War against them, they destroyed and brought into Servitude; but with their Friends, and those who put their Trust in them, they kept Covenant. So that whomsoever they incline to assist, that they should reign, they do reign, and whomsoever they incline to dethrone, they are dethroned: and they were exalted exceedingly.*'

Along with this chief and indeed sole Engine of genuine Power¹, that, to use the same Style, drew ' *Nations with the Cords of Love, and bound them with the Bands of a Man;*' their Humanity and Wisdom led them to two other collateral Securities of their Conquests. The first was, their constantly befriending *Free-states*, and *legal Governments* like their own: Liberty they cherished wherever they found it, and never failed to restore it where it had been taken away: Many of their Expeditions were undertaken with no other Intent, than

To conquer Tyrants, and set Nations free:

And in the Nation so freed, — laid under the inestimable Obligation of Deliverance from the *last and worst* of Curses, the Yoke of a *Tyrant*; the Romans were always sure of a faithful zealous Ally: Nor will it be found, that they ever stript a *Free-State* of its Privileges, without the highest Provocation and reiterated Perfidy. Carthage and the Achean League, both wanted to rival it with Rome; 'tis true the Misbehaviour of the latter was

¹ Μαχηβαιων. A. Kεθ. ζ. § 11, 12, 13.

² Parum profici armis, si injuriæ sequantur.

rather the Work of one audacious Villain; and therefore though the *League* was broken, and *Corinth* its head rased, yet *Liberty* was soon restored to the several independent *States* that composed it. The Weight of this Observation will not be perceived, unless we recollect, that *all Greece*, *Macedon* excepted, all the Coast of *Asia* the *Less*, with the *Islands*, and the greater Part of both Sides the *Propontis* and *Euxine*, that is, a great Part of the civilized World had been, or then was full of *Free-states* and *Common-wealths*. Many of these had been over-run by the Kings of *Macedon*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Pontus*, Alexander's Successors; and many had been enslaved by their own wicked Citizens. These it was the Roman Pride to deliver, — to quell the *Purple Tyrant*, and reinvest the State with its native *Liberty*; and by so doing at once won the Hearts, and secured the Hands of the better, if not the most numerous, part of the human Race.

The other Security of their Dominion was the humane and wholesome Institution of leading forth Colonies from the *Metropolis*, and planting them in the most commodious Situations of the conquered Lands. These were not only so many fast Holds of the new Province, impervertible from their Allegiance to Rome; but bringing along with them their *Language*, *Manners*, and *Laws*, diffused the Knowledge and Love of them to the most distant Parts of the Empire. These Settlements were not the *Convicts* and *Refuse* of the Roman Rabble, transported by way of Punishment,

though without doubt the poorer sort made the Body of the new Plantation; but as it was likewise the poorer sort that composed the Gross of the Soldiery, the Colonies were at first an *entire veteran* Legion at the Conclusion of a War, led into the most fertile Spot, for its faithful Services, with its *Tribunes*, *Centurions*, and proper *Officers*, each in their former Stations, forming a little but high-spirited Republic among themselves, and passing their easy Days with the same Companions, and under the same Commanders they had undergone Fatigues in their Youth, and often embraced after a Victory². This beneficent Manner of propagating their Laws and Power, was in the true Spirit of the *old Republic*. It was of equal standing with the City; having been begun by *Romulus* its Founder, and the Number and Populousness of such Settlements made by their greatest Chieftains being ever after reckoned among the prime Points of their Glory. And in effect, what can there be more glorious among Men than to give Birth to a new State, enlarge Society, and diffuse Liberty and Laws, *the first best Blessing of Mortality*, over the savage Parts of the Earth?

Should any one, less acquainted with the *Roman* Management, inquire how these feeble Settlements were preserved in a hostile Country, at such immense Distances from Rome? Or what hindered

² Olim universæ Legiones deducebantur cum Tribunis & Centurionibus, & sui quisque ordinis militibus, ut consensu & charitate Remp. facerent.

Tacit. Annal. Lib. XIV.
them

them from being swallowed up by a Conspiracy, like the Roman Colony planted among ourselves, which was destroyed by the famed Boadicea, while *Suetonius Paulinus*, the Roman Governor, had but turned his Back, and gone over to reduce the Isle of Man? I answer, that few Nations had the *Fierceness* of the ancient³, nor have the *steady Courage* of modern Britons⁴. Once subdued and slaves for ever, was the Fate of the greater Part of Roman Vassals: But it is not so with Britain; — besides that it was never fully conquered; there not being the least Vestige of a Roman Camp beyond the *Grampian Ridge*, which beginning at the Mouth of the Dee, on whose delightful Bank⁵ I am now writing, runs across Scotland to the famous Lake in the West called *Lomond*, and leaves near one half of that Country to the North untouched by the Romans, except transient Depredations by their Fleet, while it first sailed round the Island under *Agricola*.

But the great *Safeguard* of their Colonies, was a natural Consequence of their growing Dominion. Their Frontier was generally in a State of War; which made it necessary to have a Body of Troops quartered in the utmost Province, both

³ Plus tamen Ferociæ Britanni præferunt (quam Galli.)
Tacit. Vita Agric.

⁴ C'étoit une Résolution constante du sage Roi (Charles V.) de ne point hazarder de grand Combat contre les Anglois.

Mezeray. Abr. Chr. p. 337.

⁵ At Pulmore near Aberdeen.

for its Defence, and for its Enlargement next Campaign. They were not dispersed through the Towns to contract Sickness and Sloth; neither did they build Citadels, to trust to the Strength of their Works: But the Legions lay encamped in such manner as they could march upon a very short Warning to their mutual Succour; and these Camps were *temporary Cities*, with the advantage of severe Exercise and strict Regularity. Their Neighbourhood was sufficient Protection to the new Roman-Plantation, until it gathered Strength to defend itself, and that the People about it were accustomed to Obedience, or became an inland Province instead of a Frontier. For that *matchless Militia* lying as a Guard upon the Extremities of the Empire, kept every thing quiet within their Circle, and without being a Burden to the Burghers, or a Plague to the Peasant, made a Revolt among so many subdued Nations next to a Miracle.

Thus we have reviewed both the *interior Polity* of ancient Rome, and the *exterior System* of its Government: and by combining these with its *early Fortunes*, have naturally deduced the *Manners* of its Inhabitants, and of consequence laid open the true Source of all its Grandeur and Conquests. For it is plain from what has been said, that it could not be by *Numbers*, or mere *Force of Arms*, that the Romans foiled the mightiest Nations; they did not over-run Countries by vast IncurSIONS, and overwhelm Provinces like an Inundation of *Goths* or *Vandals*. They were a *scanty* People in comparison of many they subdued, and owned

themselves in Strength of Body inferior to the Gauls, in Cunning to the Carthaginians, in Knowledge to the Greeks, and in Wealth to them all: But it was the transcendent Virtue of its Citizens, sprung from Distress, and brightened by Attrition, that set the small Colony of Romulus at the head of the World, and brought it homage from the most distant Climes. 'Twas *this* made Rome rise dreadful among the Nations, made her Consuls trample upon the Necks of Kings, and her Senators sit like Gods in Judgment! — 'twas *this* made her Poverty triumph over Riches, and a Handful of Men prove too many for thousands.

' Do Not think, said Cato to the Senate (in the ' only Speech that was ever preserved ' of that ' good Man) Do Not think that 'twas by Force ' of Arms that our Forefathers raised this Republic from a low Condition to its present Greatness: had it been so, we should have it at the ' Top of human Grandeur by this Time: for we ' have more numerous Armies, many more Allies, ' greater Magazines, and a Power of Horse and ' Arms beyond what they could pretend to. — ' No — they were Things of a very different Nature that made our Ancestors so formidable; ' — Things that to our Shame we know but little

' We owe it to M. T. Cicero, who invented the Elements of a short Hand, and placed several Persons instructed by him, in the different Corners of the Senate-house, to take the remarkable Speeches made in the Catiline-business. Τῶν μόνων ὧν Κατὼν εἶπεν διασώζεσθαι φασὶ τὸν λόγον.

Πλατάρχ. Κατῶν.

L 2

‘ of, — *Industry* and *Discipline* at home, *Abstinence*
 ‘ and *Justice* abroad, a disinterested *Spirit* in Coun-
 ‘ sel, unblinded by *Passion*, and unbiaſſed by
 ‘ *Pleasure*.’

And indeed ſhould we go about to *deſcribe* the Roman Manners, and ſhow how high their Virtue roſe in their happieſt State, it would hardly find Credit among thoſe whoſe *Lives* are ſo different from *theirs*. For Words are too feeble to paint the *ſuperior Spirit* of theſe Patriots: ſo intense and yet ſo calm! ſo commanding and yet ſo obedient! whom no Dangers could deter, no Bribes corrupt, nor Pleaſures allure from a ſteady Purſuit of the Public Good. It muſt therefore be left to every one’s own Obſervation to ſelect the Characters of the *Roman Heroes*, moſt ſuited to his own Taſte and Genius. But as we judge beſt of inviſible Cauſes by their viſible Effects; as we conceive a grand Idea of the divine Wiſdom and Power, from the ſtupendous Beauty, Order and Immenſity of the Universe; ſo to compare great Things with ſmall, (yet the *greateſt* ever achieved upon Earth) let us remember that about three hundred of theſe *Patriots* aſſembled in the Curia or *Senate-house*, were the *Soul* of the *Roman Republic*, that preſerved Order at home, and directed their foreign Conqueſts! To this let us join to an amazing Thought — In the prodigious Space which the Empire embraced, (from *Euphrates* on the Eaſt, to the *Atlantic* on the Weſt, from the *Danube*

Cr. Salluſt. Bell. Catilin.

and *Tanais* on the North, to the burning Desarts of *Lybia* on the South) how many *oppressed* Nations delivered? how many *barbarous* Tribes civilized? how many *Desarts* peopled, *Wilds* cultivated, *Cities* built, *public Works* raised? and above all, *Liberty* and *Laws*, *Justice*, and *civil Policy* diffused through their immense Domain? For the several Kingdoms converted into *Provinces*, that were formerly harassing and tearing one another, by continual Wars, after they were conquered, and embodied into the Empire, came to enjoy a Tract of Peace at home, and of uninterrupted Commerce abroad, to which they had formerly been Strangers. So that *Italy* would indeed seem to be the Country, and ancient Rome the City selected by Heaven, from whence to spread its Blessings upon Earth; — ‘to collect scattered, and temper tyrannical Dominion; to humanize savage, and reconcile discordant Nations; to bring People differing in Language, Customs and Religion to a friendly Intercourse, by the salutary Tie of *Equity* and *Laws*; By these to embrace the most distant Regions, spread *Humanity* among Men, and become in a manner the Parent Country of the Human Race.’

This is a *genuine*, and but a *general* Draught of the old Republic; — for to descend to Particulars would be endless: — It would be attempting to tell how the *Decii* devoted themselves for Rome: how the *Curii* and *Camilli* (great in Poverty) governed; how the *Flaminii* and *Fabricii* conquered; what Deaths the *Scipios* died, what Lives their

Sons lived, or drawing the Character of either Cato. It is enough for our Purpose to remember, that to *this* Government, and to *these* Manners, the Romans owed their Grandeur; and, which is still more marvellous, such was the Force of that Tract of *Temperance, Justice and Fortitude*, as to lay a Foundation of Power and Authority abroad, and of Decency and Order at home, which neither the Avarice of their after-Governors, nor the Lewdness of their private Lives, was able to destroy for five hundred Years. So true is the grand Lesson, which of all Men it most imports Princes to learn, *That every thing stoops to Virtue*, the sure and sole Road to lasting Greatness; since it is now plain, that sprung from the Causes, and nourished by the Accidents we have deduced, *Temperance and Discipline, Justice and Humanity*, were the Founders and Supporters of the Roman Commonwealth.

B O O K III.

AS it is the chief Aim of these Memoirs to mix Instruction with Amusement and to show that *Liberty*, *Virtue*, and *true Grandeur* are indissolubly linked by Nature, I would ask the Reader's Leave to turn his Eyes for a little from the *stable* Power and *permanent* Conquests of ancient *Rome*, to consider in a modern Instance or two, how effectual *Fraud* supported by *Men* and *Money*, hath proved in the Hands of two mighty Kings to acquire Dominion, and make them what they wished Lords of Europe. For among the pernicious Effects of *Prejudice*, and of that *Depravity* of Manners introduced alas! by Slavery into many formerly free States, a crooked Opinion prevails, that Trick and Cunning, (what we perversely call *Politics*) if backed with Force, are sufficient to aggrandize a Nation. I prefer *Instances* from History, especially within our own Knowledge, as they are more striking and persuasive than abstract Arguments, and therefore fitter to expose the Fallacy of that half-witted Maxim; and to demonstrate that *Fraud* and *Force* have just the same Influence on the Fortunes of a *State*, as on those of a *private Man*; who may cozen, circumvene and perjure for a while, but infallibly loses his Reputation in the Issue, and with it all Means of future Elevation.

There is little more than a Century and half

passed, since the Empire of *Germany*, the Kingdom of *Spain*, the greater Part of *Italy*, all the *Low Countries*, and the vast Continent of *America*, were united in the Person of a Prince of great natural Parts, Charles V. Dazzled by the Splendor of so many Crowns, and soothed by the Success of his first Campaigns, he conceived the vast Design of conquering *Europe*, and erecting an universal Monarchy. But he happened to have to deal with a set of contemporary Princes, whose Equals we have seldom seen living together at one Period. There was our Henry VIII. (as brave in War, as pernicious in Peace,) Francis I. almost a *Knight errant* for Gallantry; and his good Ally, Solyman the Magnificent; besides many high-spirited Kings and Princes, too long here to enumerate. Wherefore, after many Trials of good and bad Fortune, finding the Conjunction not favorable, the Emperor was rebuted, grew weary of *Bustling* and *Business*; first resigned the *Empire* to his Brother *Ferdinand*, and then his hereditary Dominions, *Spain*, *Italy*, the *Low-Countries* and *Indies* to his son *Philip*, with some wise and moderate Advice, which was no sooner given than neglected.

For whether Philip II. was blown up by his People, already infected with the Notion, or had himself purposely instilled it, it is certain, that in the beginning of his Reign, especially after the Battles of *St. Quentin* and *Lepanto*, the *Spaniards* talked of nothing but *Conquest* and *Empire*¹. And it must

¹ He took for his Device a fiery Steed, breaking through his Ring, with this equivocal Motto, *Nec Sufficit Orbis*.

be owned, if we coolly consider their Advantages, it was not upon slight Grounds they did so. *Armed* with the specious, though false Pretence of propagating the Holy Catholic Religion, they had all the *substantial* Parts of Power, — a brave veteran Army, trained by the Emperor Charles, that had gathered Laurels in many Climes; — an inexhausted Treasure flowing upon them from the lately discovered *Indies*, while their new-opened Mines were bleeding fresh and working easy; a wide Dominion of wise and warlike People in *Europe* to supply the Waste of Men; and by the Conjunction of the *German*, *Spanish* and *Italian* Families, either in actual Possession of, or laying Claim to most of the Kingdoms, which Religion did not entitle them to seize for their *Conversion*.

France, like an insurmountable Bar, stood first in the Way: But most opportunely, and ordered, as it were on purpose, by propitious Heaven, the Race of the Valois failed; an iniquitous but powerful League was formed against the rightful Successor, which embroiled the Kingdom in Philip's darling Cause, a Religious War, kept the Throne empty, and left the Crown at the Disposal of Fortune, while the Spaniards had a formidable Army under a consummate Captain² within a few days March of the Capital. To England, always refractory, he laid a double Claim, first in the right of his Wife, whose exclusive Succession was abetted by all the Papists, then a great Body in this

² Alexander Farnese Prince of *Parma*.

Island; and next, as being forfeited by the Usurpation of an heretical and excommunicated Female, our great Queen *Elizabeth*. Ireland, as a Fief of the papal Crown, was obtained in a Gift from the Pope. The German Empire was disunited, its Members irreconcilable, its Head, Philip's Uncle, often distressed, and therefore presumed willing to listen to Proposals of resigning in his Nephew's Favor: So happy was the Conjunction! and such Force was there to improve it in the Hand of a Nation famed for the Depth and Constancy of its Councils, and then at the Height of military Glory.

Let us now consider how that Nation, with a subtle, cruel, and steady Prince at their Head, reputed the greatest Politician of his Age, pursued the great Design of subduing *Europe*, and making Madrid, as they gave it out, the *Capital* of both Worlds.

First of all it was found convenient, in order to advance their foreign Purpose, to make themselves thoroughly absolute at home: and for that end they began with the *Moriscos*, an industrious People, descended from the Moors of *Granada*, and by the Advice of Priests³, (the chief Directors in the

³ In 1566 a Proclamation was made, commanding the *Moriscos* to quit their Language, Habit, Manners and Religion: They came to Court to remonstrate, *Respondi el Rey*; importava la Execution de la Prematica, *assistido del Cardenal de Espinosa, desestimador y resoluto en lo que no era de su Profession**. The *Moors* were twice expelled: first in 1570 by Philip II. when 310,000 Persons were murdered and banished: then in 1610 by Philip III. when the Loss of 120,000 more left Spain almost a Desert.

* Don Lor. Vander Hammen y Leon.

Spanish Counsels), forced them to a religious War; and in the end dispeopled *Spain*, (already weakened in planting *America*) by murdering and driving out near *one fifth* Part of these its most laborious Inhabitants. They next proceeded, under the same priestly Direction, to their fairest hereditary *Possessions*, the *Low Countries*, whose Privileges they violated, insulted their Persons, obtruded the Inquisition, and burdened them with Bishops, until they drove them likewise into a Rebellion: And after some Concessions (made against the Will of the Ecclesiastics) had appeased the People, and Things were tolerably quiet, by a fresh Course of Insult, Revenge and Murder*, they inflamed it higher than ever: The Effect of this inhuman Conduct was *answerable*: It raised such a Spirit in these populous Provinces, imprinted such Horror and Hatred of the *Spanish* Government on the Minds of the Inhabitants, as employed their mightiest Armies for threescore Years to tame it; at the end of which they found themselves farther from their Purpose than when they began.

Nothing could be more weak or preposterous than this Procedure. To invite Foreigners to submit to their Dominion, the first Thing they chose to convince them of, was, that their Laws and Constitution were Cobwebs, — that their Persons

* Ferdinand of Toledo, the fierce Duke of Alva, boasted that he had in the six Years of his Government put 18,000 Persons to death by the Hands of the Executioner, and found out a new *Indies* by Confiscations, to the Amount of several Millions of Gold.

and Possessions were precarious: and by a Strain of Policy *almost* modern, that their *Consciences* too must be new-modelled; and to have a Belief of Things invisible different from their Sovereigns, must subject them — *to be burnt alive*. Could other Nations expect better Conditions than their ancient faithful Subjects, the Natives of the Low Countries? The very Men who had distinguished themselves in Charles Vth's Wars, and to whose Bravery and Conduct *Philip* himself owed the most glorious Victory that graced his Reign? To bring the generous and martial *Lamoral*, Count, *Egmont*, and the noble *Philip Monmorency* Count *Horn*, after a Life of faithful Services, and the Merit of the Day of *St. Quentin*, that in a manner established the Spanish Monarchy, to bring *these* great Men, Idols of the People, to lose their Heads on a Scaffold, was a Piece of genuine foolish Tyranny.

When *these*, and other *such* Doings were once published through *Europe*, there remained nothing but *main Force* by which they could hope for Conquest. No voluntary Submissions were to be expected, no willing Subjection to *such* Masters, — no good Wishes of Success, nor Confidence from any that valued their own Estate, or knew *them* and the *Tenor* of their Government. It was plainly holding up a *Scourge* by way of *Decoy*: and the Consequences corresponded very exactly. There was no sort of Misery or Hardship which the Inhabitants of the Provinces chose not to undergo, and did not actually undergo, rather than bend to the *Spanish* Yoke: To their immortal honor they

maintained an obstinate and merciless War, with amazing Spirit; fighting without Pay, and defending their Towns, though pressed by Famine within, and a more dreadful Plague (*fell Tyranny*) without, to the last Extremity. But by this ruinous War, carried on at an immense Expence, and far from the Heart of the *Spanish* Dominions, the Gross of their Treasure was drained. The rest, an incredible Sum¹, went to successless Attempts upon *England* and *Ireland*; and a great Part of it to support the infamous League, and foment the civil War in *France*. In the mean time, Industry, the vital Principle of a State, languished at home. — Nothing but Waste of Men, and Profusion of Wealth abroad; — Victories, when gained at the Price of much Blood, afforded little Profit, — while Defeats were fatal, and scarce to be repaired: So that in the Space of one hundred and thirty Years, the Spanish Monarchy, that had set out with such threatening Appearance, came to be bounded by its ancient *Mountains*, stript of *Italy* and *Sicily*, — first hemmed in, and afterwards driven quite out of the *Netherlands*, — and, which was hard to bear, attacked and dispossessed of a great part of the *Indies*; and harder still, that the strongest *Fort*, and finest *Harbour* belonging to Spain, should be now in the Possession of a noble

¹ See below Note 6, Page 168, and *Relazione del Signore, F. Soranzo alla serenissima Signoria di Venezia.*

Nation, whom their invincible *Armada*⁶ was to have made a tributary Province.

Much about the Time that *Spain* was brought to the brink of Ruin, by grasping at universal Dominion, the Kingdom of *France* her Neighbour, elated with a Train of Successes, took up the perilous Project. That ancient Monarchy, in a long course of Years, having swallowed up all the little Principalities around it, and being at last delivered from its own civil Wars, had risen to a very high Pitch of Prosperity. The Extent of the Country, the Industry and Ingenuity of the Inhabitants, had in two happy Reigns so swelled her Forces, and increased her Revenue, that she became at once the Envy and Terror of all the bordering Nations. France had rather more numerous Armies than *Spain* had formerly, and was far superior in *Cavalry*; — was much more compact in her Dominion, and supplied in some measure the want of foreign Treasure by a *military Spirit*, that made the Gentry found their Character upon fighting, and serve on their own Charges; a strange loyal Phrenzy was artfully propagated through all Ranks, while the Produce and Manufactures of the Country were in truth a prodigious Fund both of Money and warlike Stores.

As for the Posture of Affairs *abroad*, it partly was of itself, and partly was soon rendered very favorable. Of the three European Powers able to

⁶ It had been equipping for *seven* Years, and cost Philip a Million *sterl. per annum*, or, as he says himself, 20,000,000 Ducats.

thwart the French Designs, *Spain*, *Germany*, and *Great Britain*, the first had disabled itself; its Spirit was broke, — its Revenue run out, — its Provinces drained, — its Grandees conceited and contemptible, and under a Succession of weak bigotted Princes, had lost all Order within itself, and on all these accounts was capable of making but a feeble Resistance. *Italy* was terrified or bribed into a Compliance with the *French* Councils. The *Pope* insulted, *Genoa* bombarded, *Sicily* seized on⁷ and the *Great Duke*, and most of the *Italian* Princes had Pensions from the *liberal* Lewis.

The *Northern* Powers were plied with *French* Emissaries, and dealt with in the same manner. The poorer kingdoms openly took the Money; and the *then* King of *Britain*, contrary to the Sense of the Nation, upon low Considerations (to be for ever buried in Oblivion by her Sons) was brought to take part in the unworthy Design: But the grand Game lay in the *Empire*; and artfully was it play'd: The most independant Princes had their several Baits proposed, which the Elector of *Cologne*, the Bishop of *Munster*, and some others greedily swallowed; while the Head of it, not very formidable of himself, had the *Turk* upon his Hands; or was embroiled in his *hereditary* Countries with *French-fomented* Revolts.

Every thing thus prepared, the United Provinces, as a free and therefore intractable State, were

⁷ Steps taken at different Times, are here thrown together, as all tending to one Point.

to feel the Weight of the *French* Power, and fall the first Sacrifice to the Ambition of the aspiring Monarch. In the Beginning the Success was answerable to his Expectations: The *Dutch* Ministers, though great and able Men, had not been sufficiently careful of their *Frontier*; they had trusted to their *Wealth* and *Marine*, then in its Meridian; — and at the worst, could never bring themselves to believe, that Britain would be so blind to its nearest Interests as to be a Spectator, and far less an Actor in their Ruin. Lewis, encompassed with infinite Numbers, covered the Face of the Country, like one of the old Irruptions of the barbarous Nations. There was no Force to oppose him, Town after Town fell into his Hands, as soon as he or his Generals could summon them to surrender; hardly three or four strong Places waited till the Trenches were opened. — He over-ran four Provinces without a Check, until their Situation, and the Command of their *Sluices* rather than their *Swords*, made him halt in the Career of Victory.

During his Stay at a Town in the Heart of the Country, while astonished with the Rapidity of his own Conquests, there were two Advices offered to his Deliberation: One, to moderate his Prosperity, impose easy Terms, and show the World he could end a War with more Honor than he had begun it. The other, to secure the Possession of all he had got, and make high Demands for the future. It was urged for the first, that it would look like a great King to restore the Towns he had taken, —

to

to leave them the Exercise of their Religion, and Enjoyment of their Liberties; and only *invite* them to a Protection, which they had now Proof would be both gentle and powerful; at the same time offering them an *Equivalent* for two or three Frontier-places, that gave ready Entrance into a bordering Country, the *Spanish Netherlands*. By this means, it was said, ‘his Opportunities
‘would be kept entire, his Reputation raised
‘higher, more real Weight added to his Arms,
‘and Glory to his Name, than the present Con-
‘quest was worth; besides the Dependance and
‘Trust of what he so much wanted, a *maritime*
‘Ally secured to his After-designs.

But happily for his Neighbours, the King was not a Man applicable to such generous Measures: Haughty and little-minded, he listened with pleasure to the contrary Counsel: ‘To keep all he
‘had conquered; to compel them to set up *his*
‘Religion in the chief Cities:—to require absolute
‘Dependency, and annual Marks of their Sub-
‘jection publicly paid in his Capital: Or if these
‘Terms were rejected, to denounce incessant
‘War.’

The Issue of this Advice is known to all *Europe*: the remaining Provinces (by far the most powerful of the seven) having a little recovered from their first Amazement, could think no Taxes exorbitant, nor Toils grievous, so they might escape the hands of such an oppressive Invader. They made a noble Stand; and under the Conduct

of a young, but steady and undaunted Prince*, kept bravely up the cruel Contest, until the other European Powers opened their Eyes upon the *tyrannical Plan*, and began to form themselves into a League against the common Oppressor.

To provide against this Union, the encroaching King wished for, and by a bold Step obtained a temporary Peace. He improved it in seizing on the petty Principalities adjacent to *France*, in forming-far-fetch'd Pretensions on the great ones; in amassing Treasure, founding Cannon, furnishing his Store-houses, equipping Fleets, and as Philip II. had done before him, in humbling his Nobility, oppressing his Parliaments, and driving one hundred thousand of his best Subjects out of the Kingdom, by the *barbarous Dragonade*. When all was ready, he again threw off the Masque; trampled upon Treaties, set Justice and the Law of Nations at nought, and sent his Armies into *Italy*, *Germany* and *Spain*, To Conquer;—but as formerly, bent his chief Force against the *Low Countries*. I am not to give a Detail of Things notorious; as making only an Observation, not writing a History. His Generals had precisely the same Fate with these sent out by his Pattern Philip upon the same Errand, and in the same Country, a hundred Years before.

At first they were frequently successful, as having fallen, upon their Neighbours at unawares, while, relying upon the Faith of Treaties, solemnly

* *William of Nassau*, Prince of Orange.

sworn by the *most Christian* King, they were secure and unprepared. By that perfidious Surprise they took many Towns ill-fortified and worse garrisoned, and gained easy Victories over raw Bodies of Troops, hastily assembled to oppose them: this especially happened while the French were conducted by the old experienced Captains, the Prince of *Condé*, the Marechal *Turenne*, the cunning and cruel *Luxembourg*, and the great and good *Schomberg*: But no sooner were these able Commanders either dead or disgraced⁹, and the injured Nations roused from their Security, than a Hatred of the Monarch's Pride, and Detestation of his Perfidy, grew universal. He found no more *easy* Conquests: The Tide of Fortune turned; the League for Liberty was formed; the superior Spirit of Great Britain prevailed: *Lewis* was forced to regorge his ill-got Acquisitions,—the fairest of them, *Namur*, intended to eternize his Name, and boasted to be now impregnable¹, was ravished from him almost before his Eyes,—*Mons, Ramillies,*

⁹ Marechal Schomberg having resolutely refused to abjure his Religion, when the Persecution was raised against the Protestants in *France*, was commanded to leave the Kingdom; which had been preceded by the Farce of *M. Turenne's* Conversion, and was followed by *M. Pelisson's* Apostleship, whose Ambition was superior to their Piety.

¹ See Boileau's Ode on the taking of *Namur*. The famous *Bussy (Rabutin)* says he gives the Detail of the Siege, as the *greatest* and most *arduous* that *Lewis XIV.* ever had undertaken, or ever would undertake.

Hist. de Louis le Grand. Anno. 1692.

and *Blenheim* ensued, these memorable Days in the Annals of *Europe*; and the once haughty Monarch, distressed in his Turn by Force of Arms, and in want of Money for his own daily Sustenance, was forced to renounce his Usurpations, and humbly sue for Peace to the People he had oppressed.

And here no *Friend* to Liberty and Britain can help mixing Grief with Indignation, that all the Fruit of these glorious Victories; the Labor of so many Years,—the Price of so much Blood and Treasure,—the joint Effort of *Europe* to pull down a faithless Invader, should have been all sacrificed by a Faction amongst ourselves! That when, after a fierce but glorious Struggle, we had our Foot upon the Neck of the Dragon, the precious Opportunity of confining him disarmed to his ancient Den, should have been basely betrayed—That the future Peace of *Europe*, the Quiet of *Great Britain*, and Security from her most inveterate Enemy, should have been sacrificed by a Party that had displaced the upright *Godolphin*, and disgraced the glorious *Marlborough*! May their Memories perish from the Earth, who could thus forego the grand Interests of their Country, for paltry ones of their own.—Or if they be remembered, may it be as Betrayers of the Cause of Mankind, and Authors of all the Hardships that *Britain* has undergone since the *Utrecht-Peace*!

But let us turn our Eyes, indignant, from the unhappy End of this glorious and successful War, and view both these Sovereigns, Philip II. of

Spain, and Lewis XIV. of France, in the End of their Reigns, and consider what *Fruits* they reaped from their Attempts upon the Liberties of Europe. They had both been successful in their Youth,—saw themselves at the Head of mighty Kingdoms, formed vast Designs, wasted immense Wealth, banished, murdered, and sacrificed many Millions of their Subjects, and having *stood at nothing* to obtain their Ends, found themselves in old Age farther from them than when they first set out. How did this happen, and by what secret Fate were they conducted to so similar an Exit? By the admirable Order of Nature; by the eternal Tie between Grandeur and Beneficence; Both of them gave into *narrow and violent Measures*,—both thought Force the only way of making Conquests, and Cruelty of keeping them.—Both despised the *Rights of Mankind*, and trampled upon the *sacred Laws of Humanity*^a.—Both were bigotted to their Religion, and wanted to play the Tyrant over Men's Consciences, as well as their

^a *Est quidem vero Lex, recta ratio, naturæ congruens, diffusa in omneis, constans, sempiterna, quæ vocet ad officium jubendo, vetando a fraude deterreat.—Huic legi neque abrogari fas, neque derogare ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest: Nec erit alia Romæ, alia Athenis; alia nunc, alia posthac; sed & omnes gentes & omni tempore Una Lex & sempiterna & immortalis continebit; cui qui non parebit ipse se fugiet ac Naturam Hominis aspernabitur; atque hoc ipso luet maximas pœnas, etiamsi cætera supplicia quæ putantur effugerit.*

M. T. Cicero. apud Lactant. Lib. VI. § 8.

Persons and Estates.—These were insurmountable Obstacles to their Prosperity; as was also, that both stayed at home, and trusted the Conduct of their Armies to others. In vain had *Philip's* Father represented to him the Folly of Designs of universal Empire; and in vain had *Lewis's* Preceptor early inculcated the Necessity of a great Prince's taking the Field in Person, and the leading of his own Armies. The first imagined he could conquer the World by *dictating Dispatches*, while he walked in his fine Gardens at *Segovia*; and the latter, after declaring he was to *command in Person*, conducted his Army to the Enemy's Frontier, —visited them after a Victory, or made the Tour of the Trenches at a Siege, and then—retired with his Ladies to *Marli* or *St. Cyr*. In this Way both these Princes attained to a great Age, first dreaded, then hated, and at last despised by their Subjects and Neighbours; and each for a Recompence of his Conduct, like an old Wolf gone forth to raven and hardly escaped from amidst Toils and Spears, had time to lick his Wounds, and die with the Character of *Tyrant* stamped on his Memory.

Philip II. had been bred up in view of his Father *Charles V.'s* Wars, whose Conduct and Courage made him for the most part *fortunate*: He knew too well the *bloody atrocious* Method of the Mexican Conquest³: He had been unhappily

³ Daremos por cuenta muy cierta y verdadera, que son muertas en los dichos quarenta annos por las dichas

successful against a part of his own Subjects, whom he expelled by Force; and had gained a glorious Victory over the *French* soon after his Accession to the Throne. Such a Train of unchecked Success, might lead a haughty Prince possessed of vast Power, and of no Bowels neither to his Family * nor Favorites ', to the unhappy

Tiránias y infernales Obras de los Christianos, injustamente y tiránicamente mas de *doze cientos* de Animas, hombres, mugeres y ninños; y en verdad que creo sin pensar engannarme, que son mas de *quinze cientos*.

Barthol. de las Casas, o Casaus, Relac. de la Destruccion de las Indias. A Book I would recommend to *their Perusal* who want to be informed of the most horrid Deeds ever perpetrated by human Nature. Fifteen Millions of *their own Species* barbarously massacred in the space of forty Years in America, and by Philip's own Confession, other five Millions of Men put to death in Europe!

* He put his only Son and Heir apparent Don Carlos to a cruel Death, and poisoned his good Queen *Elisabeth* (it was said with his own Hand) when big with Child.

' A young Nobleman of a great Family had incurred his Displeasure, whom he did not chuse to punish openly; but commanded his Secretary and *Privado*, Don Antonio Perez, to make away with him privily: For which Assassination, committed by his express Order, he permitted this unhappy Gentleman, after a long Imprisonment, to be twice put to *the Torture*, and then banished from *Spain*. His Letters, writ with great Spirit and Strength, will be a lasting Monument of the Cruelty and Ingratitude of his hard-hearted Master.

Cartas de Antonio Perez. En Paris. Sin anno

M 4

Opinion, *That Violence is the Road to Empire* :
But the more modern Conqueror, as he was by

‘ Left Inattention to the Course of this King’s bloody Reign should mislead any one who has read his Encomiums in *panish* or *Jesuit* Writers, it will not be improper to adduce a Part of a very curious Piece, his last *Advice* and *Instructions* to his Successor Philip III. in which he confesses his *Father’s* Designs of universal Monarchy, and then his *own*.

Après avoir envié l’Empire à mon Oncle Ferdinand, — fait vainement toutes sortes de Pratiques & Menées, pour obtenir de lui, qu’à l’exemple de l’Empereur mon Père, il me voulût faire nommer Roy des Romains, au lieu de *Maximilien* son fils—aspire à me faire déclarer Empereur du Nouveau Monde,—à m’approprier l’*Italie*,—à dompter mes sujets rebelles des *Païs-bas*, — à me faire dire Roy d’*Irlande*, — à conquérir l’*Angleterre* par le moyen de la plus grande & formidable *Armée navale* qui ait quasi jamais été vue ; en la composition de laquelle, J’ai employé plus de six Ans continuels, & dépensé plus de *vingt millions* de Ducats—& à faire le semblable du Royaume de *France*, par le moyen de mes *Intelligences* (achetées bien chèrement) avec les plus grands & ambitieux Esprits d’icelui, fondez sur la fainéantise du Roi lors regnant, & des Différents allumés pour la Religion que J’avois suscités par le moyen des *Ecclésiastiques* mes Pensionnaires—& avoir en tous ces desseins employé *trente deux Années* de mon Age—consumé plus de Six Cens Millions de Ducats, en dépenses extraordinaires, qui ont passés par ma connoissance particulière, & dont vous trouverez les états écrits de ma Main en mon Cabinet secret—été la cause du Meurtre ou de l’Occision, de plus de Vingt Millions d’Hommes ; & de la destruction & dépopulation de plus de Provinces, & d’*Etendue de Païs*, que Je n’en possède en Europe, Je me trouve n’avoir rien remporté de tant de magnifiques desseins, dépenses, fatigues & ruines, que le seul *petit Royaume de Portugal* : — Celui

no means a Man of such Depth, took rather his Opinions from his Ministers, and the fawning Crew of Court-writers, who upon his first Victories flattered him with a firm Belief, that nothing could resist him. They called him, the *immortal Man*, the *King of Kings* ⁷, the *mighty Lewis*, the *Arbiter of Christendom*, whose *superior Star denounced that the Flower de Luce* ⁸ which came from Heaven, should one day flourish over all the Earth. This made him grasp at every Handle of enlarging his

d'Irlande m'étant échappé par le peu de Foi qu'il y a en ces Sauvages, l'Inaccessibilité de cette Isle, & l'ennuyeuse Demeure d'icelle; celui d'Angleterre par un furieux coup de Vent; & celui de France par la Légèreté naturelle des François, l'Incompatibilité de cette Nation avec toutes les autres, & l'admirable Vertue & Fortune du *nouveau Roy*, (avec lequel J'ai à cette occasion voulu vous laisser en Paix;) — l'Allemagne par les Jalousies de mes propres Parens: & Le Tout en Général, par la volonté absolue de Dieu, qui en avoit ordonné autrement.

Instructions du Roi d'Espagne à son Fils.
Voyez Mémoires de Sully, Tome II. Ch. 86.

⁷ C'est à vous, *Sire*! que convient parfaitement le bel Eloge de Roi-Roi: car s'il y eut jamais un Roi-Roi, c'est à dire un *Maitre-Roi*, doué de toutes les qualités royales, toute l'Europe avoue que c'est Vous.

Amelot de la Houffais. Homme de Cour.

⁸ L'Etoile de notre grand Monarque promet à la France une Fortune Conquérante: & Je ne fais quelle Inspiration me dit, *Que les Lis qui viennent du Ciel fleuriront un jour par toute la Terre.*

Bouhours Entretiens d'Ar. & d'Eug.

Dominion, form Pretension after Pretension, and never consider too scrupulously the Means of a new Acquisition, so it was but made sure.

Yet it is universally allowed, (the most *profligate* of Politicians not excepted^o) that the Appearances at least of Mildness and Generosity; but above all, of public Faith and Honor in Treaties, are absolutely necessary for making Conquests: Which if true, the *Things themselves* are infinitely more so: For these *Appearances* can never be long kept up without the *Realities*¹. They may serve for a small Turn, as in oppressing a little State, or ruining a single Town; *such* Doings as the *Florentine Secretary* had before his Eyes, when forming his short-sighted Maxims; but are infallibly unmasked in Designs of any Duration, and then comes the heavy Retribution: For when, instead of Moderation and Mercy, an *insupportable Pride*, an *insatiable Avarice* and *inhuman Cruelty*, appear in the Measures of a Nation, that is, when once they imagine they are above *Right* and *Wrong*, that they may *do any thing*, and that the unalterable eternal Measures of Justice and Humanity are no longer *Rules for them*; that Person or People, how great and powerful soever they may be

^o Nic. Machiavelli. *Il Principe*.

¹ *Vulgar agravio es de la Politica, el confundirla con la Astucia. Tienen algunos por mas sabio el que mas bien supo fingir, dissimular, engannar: no advirtiendole que el castigo de los tales fue siempre perecer en el Enganno.*

otherwise, are sure to lose the good Opinion of Mankind, and can never conquer thoroughly, nor rule securely, because never trusted, nor cordially assisted by any other.

Men *are bound by Benefits*: Honors and Wealth bestowed on the *Worthiest*, and Respect and Kindness shown to the whole People: This makes them *exert* themselves, to support or raise the Nation or Prince under whom they enjoy these Blessings; and *this* was the happy Method practised by the Heroes, who made the most lasting Conquests. When they got the better of any State, they endeavoured to make their Condition rather easier than it was before. They screened their Persons and Families from Insults, and secured their Properties from rapacious Hands: they let them enjoy all their Privileges consistent with their own Superiority; and frequently chose to *part* with a little part of it, rather than provoke them to cast it off and *rebel*. In a Generation or two, the *Spirit* of the governing People prevailed; and they could with more Safety demand, or perhaps voluntarily received the Subjection and Obedience they aimed at from the beginning.

It was upon such Grounds as *these*, that I ventured to assert the Stability of the *Roman* Conquests was owing to their Manners and Virtue: and the Miscarriages of two great Kings, notwithstanding their Fraud, their Armies, their Treasures, to their Vices;—to their Pride, their Cruelty, their forgetting they were Men, and that the Good of Mankind is the sole legitimate End of Conquest and Government.

The more *disagreeable*, though not the least instructive Part of our Task remains; to view the Roman Empire in its *declining* State; to consider the *Causes* of its Reverse of Fortune, and give some Account how things went immediately before *Augustus's* Appearance in the World. The Recital of Misfortunes, it is true, gives Pain; but to look into their *Origin*, and discover the *Errors* that led to them, has the proper Mixture of Pleasure and Use, which is allowed to recommend a Subject.

To discover the *true Causes* of the Decay of the *Roman State*, it may not be amiss to follow the *Traët* we were in, when searching for the Reasons of their Growth; and as formerly we found the Causes of their Prosperity in the admirable *Composition* of their *State*, and their *early Fortunes*, it will be proper now to inquire, 'Whether
' any Flaw in the one, and Change in the other,
' contributed to their Corruption and Downfal.'

What Motives soever they be, upon which Men assemble, and form these great Societies we call *States*, none of them stand or flourish long, without *two Parties* forming, and naturally making a Separation among the Inhabitants. Men who are easy in their Circumstances, and have been bred up in Affluence, naturally acquire a liking to *Magnificence* and *Splendor*: Freedom from Restraint gives them an Openness and Honesty in their Dealings, and a genteel manner of speaking and acting, which comes to be called *good Breeding*. As they grow older, if they have easy Access to Honors, and a Title to Distinction and Preference, they

know the Value of their Condition, love the Constitution by which they hold it, and readily herd with the Men of the same *Qualities* and *Manners*. They join Measures for the common Interest; and by their frequent Meetings, easily fall into the Form of a *Faction*, called in *Rome* the Optimates, or Party of the Nobility.

On the contrary, the poor People in a Town, who are always the most numerous, are put upon many low Shifts for their Livelihood: These Shifts, by Example and Practice, grow *habitual*, and make them insensible of Reputation and Shame; they lose those Feelings of the Beauty or Baseness of Actions, which are the strongest Curbs to Vice, and Incentives to the Practice of Virtue in generous Natures: When these are once smothered, Men are capable of every Meanness; the most paltry Interest sways them, and the Disorder and Rudeness of their Education, finishes the Character of the *Mob* or *Vulgar*². These all the World over envy and hate the better sort, and are contemned and often ill used by them in return. But it is in free States, where they mix in Government, and get a little Taste of Power, that the Humor is seen in perfection: They rejoice when they can humble a *Gentleman*, and pursue his Ruin with all the Fury and Ingratitude that can be

² We have a curious Proof to this Assertion in our own Language, where the Terms we commonly employ to express the most vitious Nature, *Knave* and *Villain*, are taken from nothing but low life, and signified at first (and even not very long ago) only *Servant* and *Villager*.

expected from an indigent and violent Multitude, got into Power, and encouraging one another³.

Of *themselves* however, they are seldom able to produce great Changes, or overturn an ancient Establishment: They often commit horrid Violences upon some particular Person, or Order of men, that happens to be the Butt of their Fury: But when a Man of Reach and Intrepidity turns their Leader, works up and directs the Storm, when and where to break, it then changes the Face of things, and works lasting Alterations. It is indeed an exceeding unhappy Conjunction, when a Design upon the Liberties of a Nation, meets with a Ferment among the People. For, on the other hand, without such Commotions, the ambitious Purposes of private Men are rarely brought to bear: But when they are grafted into some great *Party* in the State, which has the Command of a *popular Humor* to serve as a Cause⁴, they seldom fail to embroil the Public, and to do abundance of Mischiefs.

It is therefore a point of the last Importance to fix the Limits of Power, and ascertain the Jurisdiction of these Parties, who are thus set at odds by *Nature*, and maintain the oldest and most irreconcilable Quarrel among Men. They have, at times, dismal Effects even in Monarchies; but in

³ *Wat Tyler, Massanello, C. Marius, John of Leyden, &c.*

⁴ *Duke of Guise and the League.*

a free State, if the partial Constitution lean to either side, it will sooner or later be improved, the Balance destroyed, the State involved in Confusion, and fall under a Tyrant in the Issue. And *this* I take to have been the *original Blemish* in the *Roman Republic*: The Powers of the Senate and the People were in a manner blended together; their Boundaries were not sufficiently settled; nor the Spheres in which these two great Bodies should move distinctly marked out.

It appears from the foregoing Plan, that without a perfect Understanding between the *Senate* and the *People*, no Peace could be properly made, nor War wisely undertaken. Neither was there any Remedy from the *Constitution*, in case they disagreed, but the dangerous one of creating a *Dictator*; so that both Parties, when met in the *Forum*, were often obliged to have recourse to Force, (the Dissolution of all Government) to make good their *Resolves*. Thus in the time of the War with Jugurtha the *Numidian Prince*, when the *Senate* had decreed that Province to the noble *Metellus*, the *People*, at the Instance of one of their favorite Tribunes, *Manlius Mantinus*, in a full Assembly voted *C. Marius* their General. They were then in a high Rage against the Nobility; and the *Senate*, for fear of worse, were contented to drop their Commission, and permit *Marius* to undertake the War. This Defect in their Constitution, like a secret Poison in a wholesome Body, lay lurking a long time, while great Exercise abroad and Temperance at home preserved its Vigor:

But no sooner was it pampered with Ease and Luxury, than the Distemper appeared in all its Virulence, infected the neighbouring Parts, and in the end brought Death and absolute Dominion.

It was first in the Intervals of their Wars that it began to show itself. The Commons, who bore the greatest Burden, had then time to look about them, and consider their own Condition; they grew envious of course, and began first to complain and cabal, then gathered into a Party, and made Sedition after Sedition. It would be needless to relate the Accidents that occasioned, or the negotiations that passed between the Parties during these Struggles; the Issue of the chief of them was *the Creation of a new and independent Magistrate, sacred in his Person, and controlable by none in the Exercise of his Power, but those of his own Character and Dignity; though he had a Negative upon all the rest, the Consuls themselves not excepted.* They called them Tribunes of the People, for whose Protection from the Oppression of the Nobility they were solely intended, and for that Purpose, had the Power of *stopping* any act, though afterwards they meddled with very different Matters. Their Office alone of all the rest, did not fall upon the Election of a *Dictator*; but was the second in Power while he was present, and in his Absence, the only civil Magistracy in Being^s.

^s Εἰς δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ δευτέρα μὲν τῷ Δικτατορὸς παρόντος; ἂν δὲ μὴ παρῇ, πρώτη καὶ μόνῃ σχεδόν, ἡ γὰρ Δημοκρατία διαμένει, τὰς δ' ἄλλας καταλύει πᾶσας Δικτατορας αἰρεθέντος.

Πλατάρχ. Αντωνιος.

The

The *Commons* then having obtained such Protectors, returned quietly to their Habitations, and continued to live orderly while they were employed in foreign Wars; but at the Returns of Peace they often resumed the Quarrel under their new Leaders, and after many Efforts, at last extorted it from the Senate, *That whereas formerly the Nobles or Patricians could only bear Offices of Honor, and rise to Dignities in the Common-wealth, thenceforth not only the Pretors and Lieutenants of Provinces, but first that one, and afterwards that both Consuls might be Plebeians.* As these were great Revolutions in themselves, and made way for greater, they are the Points of View we must keep in our Eye, while we are speaking of the *Roman Polity*: for from them we may date the Ruin of the Balance of Power between the chief Parts of the State; the unhinging their Constitution, the Conversion of the Government from the best of Forms, a *mixed Monarchy*, to the very worst, a *Democracy*; and from it forebode certain Convulsions, and an approaching Fall.

For in the first place, here was full Scope given by the very *Constitution* to lead the Populace, to fill them with Jealousies, enflame their Discontents, and exaggerate Grievances: He who could do this the most successfully, was sure, though the most worthless Man in the State, to become dreadful to the best; or to force them to buy him off by Power and Places he little deserved. In a word, the *sedition Tribunes* were the Pests of the Republic, avowed *Incendiaries*, and the Causes of all

the Disorders that tore the Frame of the *Roman* Government to pieces, and made way for its final Dissolution *. For from the time of *Sp. Mælius*, who perished in the Attempt, *heading* the Mob was the Method pursued by all the Disturbers of the public Peace. It was by enflaming the Populace, that first the *Gracchi* aimed, then *Apuleius Saturninus* and *Livius Drusus* attempted, and that *Marius Cinna*, and *Cæsar* actually accomplished the dreadful Design of enslaving their Country: Nor could the abandoned *Clodius* obtain his wicked Purposes against a good Man, until he obtained leave from his Friend *Julius Cæsar*, then Consul, to renounce his Nobility, was adopted by a Plebeian, and made a *Tribune* of the People.

There seems to be little hazard that the Likeness or Ambiguity of Names should *so far impose* on any Person, as to make them apprehend what is here said of the *Roman Populace*, to be applicable to the Commons of Great Britain. Nobody can fall into that Mistake, who knows the Difference between a Multitude of many thousands, where the poorest Artisan has his Voice, and a chosen Assembly of Gentlemen, nobly educated, and by their Birth and Fortunes raised far above the low Considerations of *Corn* and *Show*, the usual Bribes of the *Comitia* of *Rome*: But if there was any hazard of mistaking, the things related of each must prevent it. The Encroachments of the *Roman* Commonalty broke the Hinge of their Government,

* *Seditionum omnium causas tribunicia potestas excitavit.*
Flor. Lib. III. § 13.

threw them into Confusion, and ended in the Loss of their Liberties: While on the contrary, there was never a Design formed upon ours, but the Parliament was first aimed at as their greatest Defence: In this respect the worthiest Senator in *Rome*, and of the oldest Patrician Blood, would have been well pleased with the Appellation of a *British Commoner*.

Of a piece with the former, there was *another* Blemish in their Constitution, which, though it sprung from the original Innocence and Probity of the People, yet it joined its pernicious Influence with the first in the Issue. Not only the constituent Parts of the State were not enough *separated*, but even the Powers of their *particular Magistrates* were vague and indetermined.

Such had been the Fortunes of this State, for four or five hundred Years, and with such Men had its Commands been filled, that there was no need to prescribe to them *what they were* Not to do: Their own *Manners*, and the good Opinion of their Citizens were Motives sufficient to keep them in their Duty, and Restraints from doing any irregular or turbulent thing. But when *these* came to change; when the daring to do *any thing* passed for Courage, and the worst of Infamy was to *be poor*; they had not so much as the Pretence of the Laws to shelter them from the Encroachments of ambitious Men, got into their Magistracies and Places of Trust: Much less had they *Penalties*, (the *Sanction* of the Law) to inflict upon the Transgressors of those Forms which were not in

being. If there was any *Check* upon them, it lay not in the *Laws*; but in the most corrupt part of the Common-wealth, the Will of the *Tribunes* and good *Pleasure of the People*. The former might by their *Veto* hinder any single Act; but when once the Magistrate was chosen, and in possession of his Office, he acted up to and beyond his Powers, with great Confidence and Impunity. *These*, as I said, were not *defined*, either by Prescription of the *Laws*, or Commission from their Constituents', and consisted chiefly in the *Practice* of their Country, enlivened by their mutual Emulation who should do it the greatest Services. But when that glorious Passion failed, and a violent Desire of Power and Wealth (*however acquired*) came into its Room, they had fatal Opportunities put into their Hands of distracting the Common-wealth. He that was *Consul* or *Tribune* had the one the *Armies*, and the other the *Laws* of the Romans, at his Disposal for that Year, and often impudently abused their Authority to the inconceivable Detriment of the Public.

And hence appears the just and delicate Connexion between the *Disposition* of a Nation, and the *Government* established in it; which is so nice a thing, and yet so necessary, that the Genius of a People cannot take a new Turn, without endangering the Constitution established; nor can the

' The Form of their Commission was no more than, Ut Cos. Procos. Præt. animadverteret, curaretque, uti ei e Rep. Fideque suâ videretur.

Constitution be considerably altered, without a manifest Change of the Manners and Disposition of the People⁹. What stronger Proof of this, than the *Rise*, the *Progress*, and the *Ruin* of the *Roman Republic*? The first *Form* of their State arose from, and was admirably adapted to the Circumstances and Necessities of the People; their happy Constitution improved their *Manners*, enlarged their *Genius*, and increased their *Power*; thus the State continued to flourish, till the Depravation of their Manners *tainted* the Constitution, and the Dissolution of *that* extinguished their wonted *Greatness of Soul*. And as at first the early Virtue of that brave People, raised an inconsiderable State to the highest Pitch of human Grandeur, so, as was said, the wretched *priestly Constitution* that now prevails, debases the Greatness of their native⁹ *Genius* to an inconceivable Meanness.

This is indeed the Circle of human Affairs; and in *this* Round the Fates and Periods of States revolve. Dangers and Hardships produce Bravery and Temperance with the concomitant Virtues:

⁹ Tout homme de bon entendement, sans voir une Histoire accomplie, peut presque imaginer de quelle *humeur* fut un peuple lors qu'il lit ses anciens statuts & ordonnances; & d'un même Jugement peut tirer en conjecture, qu'elles furent ses Loix, voyant sa Manière de vivre. Car à dire le vrai les Loix bien ordonnées en un Pais, forment aux Sujets une habitude de Mœurs qui semble au long aller, être en eux empreinte par la Disposition de leur Nature.

Pasquier Recherches, Liv. IV. Ch. I.

⁹ See page 64.

These never fail to *raise* their Masters, set them at the head of Affairs, and load them with Wealth and Prosperity. So far all goes well; every thing is on the increasing Hand; and it is the most delightful View we can take of Mankind, to look at a great Society in this Situation. But this happy latter State lasts not many Ages, until Riches and Grandeur, the Fruits of Virtue, unnaturally destroy their Parents, and wear out that Spirit in a Nation which acquired them their Honors and Power. Heaven avert such Fate, by preserving its Virtue from *Great Britain*!

Few States, however, have held it longer out against foreign Manners than the *Roman* did. And Livy the Historian's Observation is very just. '*That we hear of no Nation, among whom Poverty continued longer honorable than among the Romans.*' The Foundations of their Virtues had been deeply laid, and so thoroughly wrought in with every thing that could command their Passions, that it required much time and many Temptations before they could be eradicated. The Steps by which this unhappy Change was wrought, began, (as may be easily conceived) with the things that bore the greatest *Resemblance* to their *former* Manners. They first gave into *Magnificence*: It had been from the beginning admitted into their public Works; their *Capitol*, their *Aqueducts*, their great *Causeways*, and even their *Sewers*, though all Works of the first Ages of Rome, being not unworthy of its most powerful Period: But now the public Buildings were neglected; and not only Magnificence

but profusion stole into their *Villas* and private Buildings: The *Arts* followed of course; and the several kinds of *Learning* made their Entry at the same time, and ingrossed many of those Hours that before had been given to the *Camp*, their *Clients*, or their *Country - Farm*. 'Tis known that a *learned Roman* passed into a Proverb to express a Wonder¹. They made indeed but an awkward Figure in their first Attempts, and there were some of the Sciences to which they never attained. Their great Poet Virgil (who would not willingly have given the Preference to Strangers, (the *Plan* of his beautiful Poem being laid to do Honor to his Country in opposition to *Greece*², and to compliment the *Cæsarean Family*) has acknowledged their Lameness in *Statuary*, both by *Founding* and *Sculpture*, in *Painting*, in *Astronomy*, and even *Oratory*; these he gives up to the *Greeks*; but to compensate his Romans, lays claim to *Virtue* and *Arts of Government*, as their own³.

To say the Truth, they were too much Men of *Action* to cultivate the *Arts*; neither, while they were free, was there sufficient Encouragement for that kind of Ingenuity: It is of a shy and generous Nature which requires the highest Esteem from the Public, as well as noble Rewards to its Professors, to cherish and bring it to Excellence: And when

¹ *Litteræ in homine Romano!*

² 'Twas scarce fair to employ Homer's Fable and Allusions in such a Design.

³ *Excudent alii spirantia mollius Aera.*

Virgil.

Liberty, that enlivening Principle, was lost, all after Encouragement, how great soever, could scarce retain what they had before, far less carry it on to Perfection.

But to return to the Roman *Manners*; they did not keep long to the more manly Arts; and as the Passage is easy from Magnificence to Profusion, having once given Way, they took wide Steps, and precipitated themselves into Vice and Effeminacy. Their high Prosperity made this last part of the Change *quicker* among them, than has been known in any other People.

Arms and Agriculture had been the Business of their Citizens, for the first six hundred Years of their Establishment: But after the Demolition of *Carthage*, when their Apprehensions of a Rival were vanished, they had leisure to think of their Diversions: While they contented themselves with those of their own Growth, they were but few, and rough, like the Inventions of a martial People*; until they began to look towards the East, and their Armies happened to winter in *Asia* and *Greece*. 'Tas then that the Grecian Politeness, and Asiatic Luxury, instructed their warlike Masters in Arts and Vices they never knew before. The first Generation that brought them home practised them *sparingly*, and with some *Reserve*; but their Sons, when they came upon the Scene, and found themselves *Masters of the World*, threw off all

* *Condita post frumenta, &c.*

Restraint, and plunged into every Excess they could think of.

Let us be more particular: The Legacy of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, (the rich Province of Asia) who constituted the Roman People his Heir, was the first Draught of Poison administered to the Roman Temperance. After that the Demolition of Carthage by *Scipio*, the Conquest of *Macedon* by *P. Emilius*¹, and of *Corinth* by *L. Mummius*, filled Rome not only with *Statues*, and fine *Pictures*, but with other Instruments of Luxury. Yet these were in a great measure still confined to public Use: The Statues adorned their *Forums*, *Porticos*, and *Amphitheatres*; and the Gold and Silver Goblets, Lustres, and precious Vessels did Honor to the *Festivals* of their Gods:—For the truly great Men abovementioned, with a Nobleness of Spirit, incredible in later Times, enriched the State, and ornamented the City, without adding a Shilling to their own Estate, or one Utensil to the Furniture of their Family.

But as civil Discord is the Bane of Morals, when the Chiefs must connive at the greatest Excesses, it was first under the loose and impetuous *Sylla*, that the young Roman Nobility, who flocked to him while in Asia, learned there to drink crowned with Roses, to make sumptuous Salons, splendid Feasts, and practise all the Arts of Profusion. To support these, at that lawless Time,

¹ It at once freed the People from the Burden of all Taxes paid to the Public.

they likewise learned to oppress their *Allies*, pillage *Provinces*, plunder *Temples*, and trample upon every Consideration, human and divine, that stood in the Way of their Lust or Avarice.

L. Cornelius Sylla was a Man of infinite Vigor of Mind; and in the Loss of his *Memoirs*, written with his own Hand, the strongest Draught of human Passions in the highest Whirls of Fortune and Sallies of Power, is for ever vanished: But at the same time he was excessively debauched: — Pimps and Players, Buffoons and Bawds, were even in the Hurry of Business his common Companions. What would the young Officers of his Army be, when he became all powerful and absolute Master of the Empire? — Or the old rapacious Captains that had gone through all the Scenes of Asiatic Iniquity? He had a Minion, *Chrysogonus*^{*}, his Freedman, who from a Boy sold for a Slave, by buying forfeited Estates, and other such Ways and Means, came to be possessed of many thousands a-year, This Youth had some noble Villas, richly furnished on every side the Town, and especially on the Banks of the *Anio*, and *Tiber*: But in his House, or rather *Palace* in Town, was to be seen the Wealth of Nations, and the Spoils of the richest Families in *Rome*. It was adorned with costly Pictures, noble Statues, and all sorts of Marble Work: His Buffets were loaded with embossed Plate, *Delian* and *Corinthian* Vases, among which was the celebrated Silver *Authepsa*, or Self-Dresser, a curious kind

^{*} Mr. Goldenly.

of Chafing Dish, which he bought at such an immense Price, that the Bystanders, ignorant of Greek, thought it had been the Name of some large Estate⁷: I mention these things, and his own gorgeous Dress, his flowing well-curved Hair, his large lewd Family, because as Favorite, and in a manner prime Minister, he would be a Pattern to the young Nobility of *Sylla's* Party.

From hence we may date the deplorable Ruin of the *Roman* Virtue; and at the same time discover the Causes of the swift Advances they made to Corruption and Immorality. Their *Army* was not, as in other Governments, an extrinsic Part of the Constitution, which might be rotten and diseased, while the rest continued sound: on the contrary, it was so incorporated with the very Essence of the Republic, that it could not be tainted without infecting the Vitals. Avarice, like a Pestilence, seized upon all Ranks: Poverty though virtuous became contemptible; and vicious Opulence met with Honor instead of Punishment. This wrought a dismal Change upon their Manners; and became one of the chief Causes first of the Degeneracy of their Spirit, and then of their final Fall. Disuse of Arms by degrees crept in among their great Families. When they became possessed of vast Estates, the luxurious young Patrician cared not

⁷ Domus referta vasis Corinthiis & Deliacis, in quibus est *Authepsa* illa, quam tanto pretio nuper mercatus est, ut qui prætereuntes enumerari audiebant, fundum venire arbitrentur.

to go to a rough tumultuous Province where there was Fatigue and Fighting, but his Lady Mother found interest to have him made Questor, or taken into the Train and Household (*Contubernium*) of some peaceable Pretor going to govern a polite Grecian, or delicate Asiatic District. There instead of hardy inspiring Virtue, instead of learning to wield his Sword, or strike the Enemy, (as many a Roman Youth had done at eighteen) he learned Rapine and Effeminacy. This had so spread after the Defeat of *Hannibal*, and the Conquests of *Spain* and *Macedon*, that Cato said, in a Verse of *Homer*, there was but one Man, (the younger *Scipio*) in the Army before *Numantia*, — all the rest being empty frivolous Phantoms. — It was this gave *C. Marius* such Handles to lash the lazy worthless Nobility, as good for nothing themselves, and only showing the Pictures of their Ancestors. — It was this gave him Access to make himself (one Plebeian) so necessary to Rome, that a great Historian says ‘the Hope and Resource of the City rested in him alone’; and made that same Author affirm, ‘That for a great while Rome, like an exhausted Mother, had not produced one great Man, till at length, she had brought forth the two Opposites, *Julius Cæsar* and *M. Portius Cato*.’

The same lamentable *Disuse of Arms* brought the civil Contest, after *Crassus’s* Death, into the narrow Compass of two Chieftains. In the glorious Days

▪ *Spes opesque civitatis.*

C. Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

of the Republic, when there was scarce a Senator who was not a *General*, nor one who had not been a Soldier; no Cabal of Traitors could have overawed that noble independent Body. Had *M. Tullius Cicero*, with his good Heart and great Talents, applied more to Arms and military Virtue, he could have made a very different Stand for Liberty; and would not have been the Shittle-cock of every upstart Captain that approached with a Body of Troops to *Rome*. While the *Pisans*, *Venetians*⁹ and *Genoese*, went to War themselves; while they filled their own Armies, and manned their own Fleets, they were brave flourishing States: now that they sit at home and hire Mercenaries to fight and sail for them, they are among the most dastardly of the *European* People. What Wonders did not the *Dutch* do, even the *Burghers* of their Towns, while they all carried Arms, and defended a little Corner against the two successive Terrors of *Christendom*! But of late that the governing Faction, sunk in Luxury, and bribed with Gallic Gold, sent out each his Footman to fight for him, and put their Creatures and Retainers into Commands of Towns and Regiments, they made the Figure we all know at the Battles of *Fontenoi* and *Laufeld*, and the Sieges of *Hulst* and *Bergen-op-Zoom*.

⁹ I Veneziani come ei' si vollero alla terra, e si trasfero di dosso quelle armi che in Mare gli avevano fatti gloriosi, e seguitando il costume degli altri Italiani, sotto l'altrui Governo amministravano gli Eserciti loro, — &c.

N. Machiavelli, Hist. Fiorent. Lib. I.

But no clearer Instance can be given of the fatal Consequences of this Conduct than in our own Country. After that Body of great Men, who animated and directed the *long Parliament*, had rescued the English Liberties out of the Jaws of Oppression, they produced great Officers both by Sea and Land, and did Things in a few Years that were then the Astonishment of Europe, as they are now the Admiration of Posterity. But unhappily for themselves, they were contented with *sitting in the House*, chusing able Men, and planning Expeditions: This made their Servants by degrees become their Masters; and at last put it into *Oliver Cromwell's* Power to chase them from the House with Ignominy. The same Cause made them afterwards depend upon the Will of *one* single Officer, *General Monk*, who deceived them. Had they, like *John Hambden*, or *Algernon Sidney*, gone to War themselves, — commanded the Armies of the Commonwealth in their Turns, come again and taken their Places in the House, no *one* Officer durst have bearded them, or could have shone like a Meteor (as *Cromwell* did) among Stars of an equal or superior Magnitude. — And accordingly, while he treated the Men of Form, the great Speakers with careless Contempt, he stood in real Awe of his own Brethren of the Blade. — *Desborough* and *Fleetwood* frowned him out of a Crown; and *Lambert* and *Ludlow* broke his Sleep; nay even poor *Colonel Lilburn*, what a terrible Stretch did he make to have his Life, though in the Plenitude of Power? Let the *British Youth*

take Warning, and condemn a trifling inglorious Life: Let Gentlemen of Families go to the Army at home, or into Service with our Allies abroad, not merely for Pay, but for protecting their Country, and being ready to defend their envied Liberties. — While the *French Noblesse* are lured to the Service by their political Court, under a fallacious Show of Honor, though it be to slave to the Caprice of their Monarch, be Tools to a rapacious Minister, and rivet their Country's Chains; — let the superior Spirit of Freedom inspire and direct *our* martial Ardor to more exalted Ends; and with Knowledge of the Cause warm every *Briton's* Breast with a settled Resolution sooner to part with Life than Liberty, and die a thousand Deaths rather than servilely bend his Neck to the Yoke of foreign or domestic Tyranny!

To inspire this noble Resolution, let us consider what we have to struggle for; what the *exalted Object* is that deserves the Risque of our Lives and Fortunes, to transmit it like a sacred Pledge, fair and unblemished, to Posterity? Let us for this Purpose set the *British* over against the *Roman* Constitution, and if, in all Points of Government, (Conquest excepted) a visible Advantage lie on the side of Britain, we may after *such* Trial safely claim an absolute Superiority to every Government now in being. And first the Security of every Man's *private* Liberty, Property and Life, seems to have been pretty near an Equality in both Countries. The Privilege of being judged by our *Peers*, our *Juries*, and the *Habeas Corpus Act*, are the Bulwarks of our Lives and Liberties. The

first of these the *Roman Nobility* were deprived of, by being finally judged by the Assembly of the *People*: but our *Juries* seem to have been compensated by an *equivalent Practice* at *Rome*. After the *Kings* and their Successors the *Consuls* found it necessary to ease themselves of private Causes, the Pretor, on whom that Power devolved, immediately upon entering on his Jurisdiction, made out a *List of Judges*, from among whom a *certain Number* was chosen by Lot, to sit upon every especial Cause, and to whom both *Plaintiff* and *Defendant* had a Right to except: Sometimes that List was composed of *fifteen Men*, elected by every *Tribe* out of their own Body. They decided *Points of Fact*, both in civil and criminal Causes, like the *Verdicts* of our Juries, *guilty or not guilty*: *indebted or not indebted*; and in capital Causes gave their Voice by *Ballot*. Yet here a Sett of *annual Jurymen* are more liable to Corruption than our *occasional Assize*; and the Pretor, who pronounced according to their Verdict, how capable soever, must not be compared with the salutary Institution of our *alternate Circuits*, made by venerable Judges, learned in the Laws, through Provinces where they can have few Connexions, and therefore few Temptations to Partiality.

The *Habeas Corpus Act* is balanced first by the Abolition of the Nexus, or Power of attaching a Man's Person for Debt, A° U. C. ccccxxviii; then by the *Appeal* in the last Resort to the People, which put a Stop to all farther Punishment; and lastly is over-balanced by the *Porcian* and *Sempronian*

nian Laws, which forbad the putting a *Roman Citizen* to Death, without the Authority of the People, and enacted *Banishment* as the ultimate Penalty to be inflicted on a *Roman*.

But as for the Security of *public Liberty*, the *Liberty* of the State, on which private Liberty, Property, Life, and every thing depends, it is incontestibly greater in the *British* Constitution in these three capital Points.

I. The *Commons* of Rome acted in a *collective* Body; and the *Commons* of Britain act by their *Representatives*. The Difference is immense; — almost the same as between a Mob and a regular Meeting. While *Rome* was a small Town, and the Number of its Subjects proportioned to the Number of the Governors; that is, while the Inhabitants of *one* Town could with ease inspect and govern its Territory; and while at the same time the Roman *Manners* continued virtuous, the Power of voting in a *collective* Body did no great Harm. Yet even in the earlier Days of the Republic, the Prosperity inseparable from this their Virtue, and the growing Numbers of their Citizens, rendered the *Comitia*, or grand Assembly of the People, too *numerous* to be very *orderly*. It is true, the Blemish showed itself by Struggles modestly managed first for Relief from Oppression, and then for a Share of Power. But after the bloody *civil* (which they affected to call the *Social* and *Marsic*) War¹, having incorporated almost

¹ It swept away 300,000 of the *Romans* and their *Allies*.

all the Towns of *Italy* into Rome, the *Plebes* became quite enormous, and put in the Power of Men of great Interest or Wealth to pour such Floods of Slaves and Foreigners into Rome under the Name of *Citizens*, as put an end to Order in the *Forum*, and made every thing be managed by Uproar and Violence. Sylla's Laws for some time restrained the Rabble; but being repealed very soon after his Death, and the primitive Innocence of the Romans having at the same time given way to Luxury, the *Forum* and *Campus Martius* contained the most corrupt tumultuous Meeting in the World. To *them* every ambitious Man that wanted illegal Power, from *Sp. Cassius* who attempted to enslave his Country, to *Jul. Caesar*, who accomplished the traiterous Design, applied in the first Instance, and seldom failed to obtain their Concurrence. If two violent Spirits were in competition for the same Dignity, like *Metellus* and *Hypseus*; or pushing for and opposing the same Law, like *Clodius* and *Milo*, they armed their Slaves, shared as 'twere the Mob, and occupied the *Forum*, or surrounded the *Temple*, where the *People* or *Senate* were to meet, as it had been with two hostile Camps. The violent Tribunes, who could lead and inflame the Populace like *Sulpitius* and *Glauucia* play'd them constantly off against the best Designs of the *Senate*; and in short, *this* Power of the People, and *this* Method of its Exercise was the very Canker-worm that lay long at the Heart of the *Roman Republic*, and at last gnawed out its Vitals. For we plainly see

that *Julius Cæsar*, with all his usurping Address, and interested Generosity, could never gain any considerable Number, far less a Majority of the Senate. A *needy* Party he had indeed made; but as they were the most profligate, they were likewise the most despicable Part of that august Assembly; and clearly appeared to be so, when things came to Extremities. For it was, strictly speaking, the *Senate* and *Nobility* who raised the Armies that opposed the haughty Usurper.

Now, had the Roman-Commons been *represented*; that is, had five or six hundred of the first Gentlemen in *Italy*, been elected with a Power to pass or throw out Laws, to give or refuse Commissions, he would have found it a different Task to hoodwink a Majority of *such* Men, apprized of the Value, of their Laws and Liberties, than by Shows, low Donatives, and Luxury to lead the *Dregs* of Rome. From *such* a Body of Men, the greater Part of whom must have passed through the *Honors* and *Commands* of their Country, no *profligate Leader* would have obtained a five, and much less a ten Years Government of *Gaul*, with an Army of Desperadoes ready to march into the Heart of *Italy*, and Seat of Government.

II. The Supreme Magistracy in *Rome* being annual, was obnoxious to great Inconveniences. Tumult and Bribery at the Elections;—a yearly Change of Counsels and Conduct; and an unquiet Spirit equally hateful in time of Peace (the happy Season of a State) as advantageous in War. Of

all these Evils, *Britain* is happily ignorant by the *hereditary* Succession of her Kings. But may it not be urged that *their* Liberty was better secured than *ours* from the Attempts of Power by this *annual Change*? I answer, No; — because the only Security they had for it was *that Change*, which itself depended upon the *worst* and most *corruptible* Part of the Commonwealth. They had no other *Compact* with their supreme Magistrate, than that it was *understood* he should rule according to Custom, and for *one Year* only if he was not re-elected by the People. Whereas we have a sacred original Compact between *King* and *People*, sketched out in our *Magna Charta*, clearly stated in the *Claim of Right*, and solemnly sworn in the Oath taken by our Kings preceding their *Coronation*. The Recognizance and Declaration of this *national* Right, and the happy Establishment of the *Protestant Succession* in the illustrious Race of Princes that now fills the *British* Throne, are the chief Fruits of the glorious Revolution.

III. But without all doubt the supreme Excellency of the *British* over the *Roman*, and every other Constitution that stands upon record, lies in the *Tripartite Division* of the Legislature: the most admirable Institution ever devised by human Wit, for the Preservation of Liberty, and attaining the great Purposes of Government! The *Romans* and *Lacedemonians* had *something like it*, in the happy Ages of their Republics, while the Senate advised or *digested* the Law, the People, or their *Tribunes*, examined und *ratified*, and the

assenting Consuls made out the Act, and took Measures for its *Execution*: And in Sparta, the *Ephori* and *Περσζια* or *Senate* proposed, the *People* approved, and the *Kings* executed: But it was a mere *Resemblance* in both States: For in *Rome* neither of the other Powers had a real or effectual Negative upon the *collective Body* of the *People*. They might struggle for some time, and by gaining some of the wiser and more moderate *Tribunes* to impose their (Veto) Prohibition upon their violent *Colleagues*, might stave off a popular pernicious Decree; or they might assemble all their *Clients*, gather in a *Body* in the *Forum*, and as a *Part of the People* might by their *Votes* endeavour to stem the *Torrent* of the venal *Multitude*: But the *Nobility* or *Senate* had no Power to oppose *separately*; nor, when assembled in the *Senate-house*, was their refusing their Assent to any Law, nay their passing a direct contradictory Vote, sufficient to put a Negative upon a *Plebiscitum*; nor could they abrogate any Law formerly enacted by the *People*. We must accurately distinguish between the *Populus* and the *Plebes*²: the former comprehended the whole accumulated *Body* of the *Denisons* of *Rome*, *Consuls*, *Senate*, *Knights* and *People*, met in the *Forum* acting as one *Body*, and the *Nobility* giving their *Votes* each in his own *Tribe*, or *Century*, as one of the *People*: the latter (the *Plebes*) excluded all *Patricians*, and in them, the chief *Magistratures*; and acting in that

² See Pag. 77. N. 5.

exclusive manner, gave Law to the whole ³: But even when mingled with the Patricians, the *Plebs* made always a Majority of the *Populus*; and failed not to out-vote the Nobility and Senate, when taught by their Incendiary-Tribunes to divide not by *Centuries*, but by *Tribes*; which gave the meanest Mechanic an equal Voice with the *Consul*, or *General*, who had led Kings in Triumph, or been himself *Dictator*. Indeed the *presiding* Consul might refuse to report an unworthy Election, or to make out and execute an iniquitous Decree of the Commons ⁴: But he must do it at his Peril; at the Hazard of being impeached by a vindictive Tribune; and having a Day assigned him for his Appearance before the incensed Multitude; who being in *this* Case at once Judge and Party, was a Risque few Men chose to run.

At *Lacedemon*, the Government which was left an *Aristocracy* by *Lycurgus*, was changed by the usurping Ephori into an *Oligarchy*, or Power of a few. These general *Inspectors* (so their Name implies) designed at first, like Tribunes at *Rome*, as a Check upon the Kings and Senate, became by degrees perfect *State-Inquisitors*, arrogating all Power foreign and domestic to themselves; making Peace and declaring War, managing the Treasury,

⁴ *Lege Hortensia.*

³ C. Sentius Saturninus Cos—*juravit, etiamsi M. Egnatius Rufus factus esset Cos. suffragiis Populi, tamen se eum non renunciaturum.*

judging all other Magistrates, the *Kings* not excepted, and in fine, imprisoning, condemning and punishing by their own Authority⁵, like their Brethren the *Dieci* at *Venice*; with this sole Difference, that they were annually elected⁶, whereas the *Venetian* Tyrants continue for Life.

But (Thanks to propitious Heaven, for the greatest Blessing on Earth!) it is far otherwise in *Great Britain*; the Land distinguished by its *Constitution* from all the Nations now in Being. Here, the utmost *Wish* of the greatest Politicians⁷, the last *Effort* of their Skill, what they thought rather a Point of Speculation, than possible in Practice, is actually put in Execution: A mixed Government prevails, wonderfully composed of the three Forms, *Regal*, *Aristocratical*, and *Popular*, — the Power of each so naturally adapted to its Share in the Government, and so nicely balanced as reciprocal Checks and Helps, that, above the

⁵ Εφοροὶ ἔν ἱκανοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ ζημιᾶν ὃν ἂν βέλωνται, κύριοι δ' ἐκπράττειν παραχρῆμα, κύριοι δὲ καὶ ἀρχοντίας μεταξὺ καὶ καταπαύσαι, καὶ εἰρῆσαι, — καὶ ὥσπερ οἱ Τυράννοι, εὐθὺς παραχρῆμα κολάζουσι.

Ξενοφ. Λακεδ. Πολίτεια.

⁶ I have met with no Passage in any proper Author that lets us know, whether the Ephori could be legally continued in their high Office, or re-elected after a certain Term?

⁷ Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, Cicero, Tacitus, Rawleigh, Sidney, Montesquieu: *cujus, sicut M. Varronis Imago in Asinii Pollionis Bibliothecâ, unius viventis ponendum est Nomen.* See Pag. 85. N. 2. and Sidney, Vol. I. Ch. 2. § 16.

Reach of human Contrivance, it seems the Produce of higher Wisdom than usually rules the Affairs of Men. Such is the Trine Composition of the British Legislature; three *Negatives*, Guardians of the Prerogative of her Kings, of the Privileges of her Peers, and of the Independency of her People; any *one* of whom is sufficient to prevent the Will of the other two from passing into a partial Law, and renders a *national* Concurrence necessary to give an Act the legal Sanction.

The *Energy* of this divine Institution is marvellous; its Operations, like those of Nature, are partly *silent* and *sure*, partly *obvious* and *striking*, always *beneficent* and *big* with Felicity. It would be no easy Task to trace their Effects; which are deeply *felt* by every *Briton*, that can taste the exalted Pleasure of *being free*, of fearing nothing but the *Laws*; and who has the Ingenuity and Gratitude to acknowledge it. But, like all human Enjoyments, they are enhanced by their Rarity, and shine brightest by Comparison. Wherefore, to be truly sensible of our Happiness, we must quit the *Queen of Isles*, make a Tour beyond Sea, and observe *Plenty* confined to Palaces, a few *Favorites* revelling, false Splendor and tinsel Equipages belying *gaunt Poverty*; — while the *Towns* languish, the *Fields* mourn, the fleeced *Peasant* pines, the *Merchant*, permitted to swill for a Space, is squeezed like a Sponge into the King's Coffers, and the *Nobility*, an Appendage to an oppressive Court, cringing to a *Superintendant*, and sunk in *Slavery* and *Ignorance*. Then returning to

the Seat of Freedom, let us view her Order, her Populousness, her flourishing *Towns*, cultivated *Fields*, crowded *Ports*, thronged *Markets*, growing *Manufactures*, especially towards the *North*, where through the Courage and Conduct of a Royal Leader, Peace now reigns, and those Hands are busied in virtuous Industry, that formerly lay idle when unemployed in Brawls and Thieving. Happy Country! where Justice and Liberty support each other,—diffuse Plenty, or rather Profusion through all Ranks, and beget the noble independent Spirit of a free born *Briton*.

These are *some* of the Effects of our matchless Constitution: To trace them all, either on the peculiar Character of the People, or on the *several Branches* of the Administration, though a tempting Subject to a *Native*, would lead us too far from our *own*; Besides that there are certain Points of Politics which, like the *Adyta* of the ancient Temples, (the holy place hid from vulgar Eyes) appear best, as placed by Prudence, *in perspective*. Among the chief of these, let us reckon the *Result* of the *British Constitution*; and without ruffling the Veil that covers *its more immediate and recluse Method of Operation*, let us venerate the *Power* that keeps us a Free and Happy People. So far only let us be proud to say, and to repeat, That our Form of Government by a King, Lords and Commons, — three Powers having conjunctly the *legislative*, and separately the *executive, judicative and deliberative* Parts, with a reciprocal *Negative* upon one another, is a full Completion of

what the most refined Statesmen ever wished, as the highest Pitch of political Happiness.

Nor shall Envy here forbid our reverencing Truth, and acknowledging that since the grand *Era* of British-Liberty, the *Revolution*, the Balance hath been kept so even, by *legal British* Counsels from the Throne, (except a crazy Start of a squintey'd Faction in the End of a female Reign) and a firm and prudent Spirit in the co-operating Parts of the Government, that our Constitution hath had *full Play*; has produced its natural Effects, of Security to Person and Property, Liberty of Conscience and Conversation; Wealth and even Luxury at home, Power and Consideration abroad, hath enabled us twice to stop the Career of a perfidious encroaching Neighbour; and, pity that so fair a Mother should have so deformed a Child, hath filled us with Licentiousness, and Insensibility of our present Felicity.

But as Disaffection to *such* a government must proceed either from Disingenuity or Ignorance, it would be no less disingenuous to refuse the Praise justly due to the princely Virtues by whose *immediate* Influence we enjoy the Sweets of it. 'A
' supreme Magistrate, governing according to Law,
' acquitting himself worthily of the mighty Trust,
' and exerting his regal Power as the Father of a
' free People, is a Character far above Conqueror,
' — one of the most exalted among Men:' And such a Character, and such a King bath the whole Tenor of his Reign approved George II. to have been to *Great Britain*. Every Step of his Government — every Treaty he has made, every War he

has waged, every Alliance he has contracted, show him firm to the *Protestant* Cause, and true to the Interests of his *People*. At home, Men not only of distinguished Capacity, but of eminent *Virtue* and *Moderation*, are picked out to fill the highest Trusts. Such are at the Head of the *Law*, and of the *Church*. — Such are set round our rising Hope the royal *Offspring*, and to crown all, *such* have the chief Sway in the happily-harmonious *Councils* of the King and Nation. Deservedly does *such* a Prince reign in the Hearts of the worthiest of his Subjects; and deservedly is this Homage paid to Truth by a Pen, untaught to flatter, though warm with Gratitude, as the Tribute due to royal Virtue, from a free and faithful Subject.

Let *Britons* then understand their true Interests: let them know their *Pre-eminence*, chiefly their *Laws*, and part with Life rather than their Constitution; But withal let them remember, that a *Protestant* Family upon the Throne, whose best Title to it is founded upon a *Law* settling the Succession, in consequence of a solemn national Compact to preserve our civil and sacred Liberties, is the great *Barrier* of our *public Happiness*; And while our future Princes are wise, and prefer no *foreign* Interests to those of their own Kingdoms, as some of the weakest of their Predecessors*, — while they show themselves *steady* in the Discharge of their supreme Trust, and ready to risque every thing to humble a perfidious Nation, that holds

* James I. in the Interests of *Spain*, Charles II. and James II. in the Interests of *France*.

out Chains to Soul and Body, (*tinselled*, it is true, with Luxury,) they will be the prime Blessings of our State, and be revered and loved as the Parents of their People.

For it is on no refined Cob-web Politics, or subtle Fetch of Wit, that the *British Liberty* is founded. It must in the last Resort plainly depend upon the *Spirit* of her Sons.—On the noble, impatient Spirit of an independent *Briton*; which must give her a Figure abroad, and guard her Freedom at home: and that Spirit is the sole Gift of *soul-exalting* Virtue. It is *Virtue* that elevates a Man, and aggrandizes a State: It is *Vice* and Immorality that debase both. Rome was great while it was *free*; and it was free while it worshipped *Virtue*. *Vice* begat Meanness of Spirit; that entailed Dependency and with it a Train of Misfortunes, which landed in *Slavery*, and then came Destruction with as swift a Pace as the Remains of the Customs introduced by *departed Virtue* could admit. For such is the Efficacy of the Heaven-born Nymph, that not only her real Presence raises and preserves a State; but her very *Shadow* when the Substance is gone, is able, like the Apostles⁹, for some time to retard its Ruin. Could the Nobility and Gentry of *Britain* be made truly conscious of their own Dignity,—could they clearly perceive whereon their *Honor and Happiness* depends;—were they thoroughly convinced, that the Constitution of their Country is their most precious Possession, the Preservative of their Estates, and

⁹ Acts v. 15.

Prop even of their Pleasures, they would in the first place be at more pains *to study* it; and then, in all their Deliberations would consult its Interests as their own: They would despise and trample upon *little Party-views*, of what kind or denomination soever. No removed Malecontent from Pique or Love of Place, would betray them, as lately, into a factious Opposition: — no pretended Patriot, whose Deeds and Doctrine were opposite as the Poles, would make them weaken the Hands of Britain's Friends. No popular Frenzy on the one side, — no Frown of Power on the other^{*}, would shake their firm Resolve, or make them swerve in a single Point from their Duty: But wisely true to the Welfare of their Country, — true to their own Independency, they would pursue one bold undeclining Course of sound and heroic Policy. The Passions, the Politics, the Frowns, the Foibles of other States or Statesmen should not impede nor deter them from driving at the prime Point in view, Britain's Glory, *their* highest Interest. Neither let the least doubt of *Success*, in so glorious a Cause, damp their Endeavours against either foreign or domestic Foe: *Right*, if managed with Prudence and Bravery, must *in its own Nature* get the better of *Wrong*; and *Liberty* has always, when they met upon Terms but nearly equal, trampled *Slavery* under Foot; all History, especially *British*,

^{*} Non civium ardor prava jubentium,

Non vultus instantis tyranni

Mente quatit solidâ.

Horat.

abounding with Instances of Handfuls of *free Men* triumphing over Multitudes of *Slaves*. But the native Force of *Great Britain* is formidable of *itself*; its Dominion wide and fertile, — its public Revenue of great Amount, and capable of much greater; (in contradistinction to a full Treasury and impoverished Provinces; the Case of our greatest Neighbours: So that we fall not under the famed *Lysander's* Saying, *That our Spirit wants a State to support it*². — But by the Situation of our happy Island on the North-West of *Europe*, the Opportunities of her Havens, the Number and Strength of her Colonies, (spread almost over the Globe,) and above all by her Constitution, and the *noble Genius* of her Sons, capable of every Culture but *Servitude*, she seems designed by Nature as the *Sanctuary of Liberty*, and to sit revered, *Mistress of the Ocean*.

Along with Disuse of Arms in *Rome*, the same Cause produced the *Abuse* of them in the few that followed the Profession: Their chief Purpose was formerly to protect their Allies and Friends; and now they were chiefly employed in plundering them and their own Provinces. Their Governors were absolute, like so many *Bashaws*, during the Continuance of their Government, and were only accountable at their Return. When therefore the Roman *Manners* changed, when from the most disinterested, they became the most avaricious People on Earth, here was a proper Field to show

² 'Οι λόγοι σὺν ᾧ ξένη, πόλεως δονται

Πλατάρχ. Λυσάνδρ.

it, — and accordingly Extortion, Oppression and Rapacity, displayed themselves in their worst Shapes. ‘Our Provinces, says *Cicero*, are pillaged, ‘harassed, and entirely ruined; our Allies and ‘those in our Pay, defrauded and distressed: So ‘that now they hope not for Preservation, but ‘desire some Solace for their Undoing in the Punishment of their Tyrants.’ The celebrated Impeachment of C. Verres, Pretor of *Sicily*, yet extant in the Writings of that great Patriot, is the most striking Instance of Extortion and Iniquity upon Record. And to show that the Case of the plundered People was almost desperate, through the many ways of eluding Prosecutions at Rome, (their Courts at home being no foundier than their Tribunals abroad) he affirms that an Opinion, no less shameful than detrimental to the Republic, had long prevailed, ‘That as the Courts then stood, no moneyed Man, were he never so guilty, could be condemned at *Rome*.’

A singular Circumstance in this Trial shows to what Height the public Profligacy had risen at this Time. After the Names of the Judges had been drawn out of the Urn, and that *Cicero*, the Prosecutor, had rejected as many of them as the Law allowed, Verres, though vastly rich and impudent, appeared not a little dejected. His chief Counsel, *Hortensius* (the greatest and most graceful Orator

³ Populatæ, vexatæ, funditus everſæ provinciæ: focii stipendariiſque Pop. Rom. afflicti: miſeri jam non ſalutis ſpem, ſed exitii ſolatium quærunt.

Cicero. in Q. Cæcilium.

in Rome until he was eclipsed by *Tully*) was then Candidate for the Consulship. It was the Custom of the *Romans* to chuse, or rather *nominate* two Candidates to be *Consuls* the ensuing Year, who were not to enter upon their Office until the first Day of *January*; and were therefore called *Consuls elect* *. From this Nomination *Hortensius* was returning, as it were in Triumph, accompanied as we may suppose so powerful and popular a Man to have been. By chance the famous C. Curio (the Firebrand afterwards of the civil War) met him and his large Retinue, among whom was his unworthy Client C. Verres. Him Curio singled out of the Crowd, and without taking the least notice of the *Consul elect*, or saying a Word to any Friend or Relation attending him, he took the Plunderer in his Arms, bid him *cast away Care*; *For I let you to wit*, said he, *that this Day's Election hath finally acquitted you*. Nothing could be more *affronting* to the Judges, more *scandalous* to the new Consul, nor more *profligate* in itself, — yet it passed unreprieved; the notorious Thief cheered up, and set boldly about his old Trade of Bribery as before.

It is easy to conclude from these and such-like Stories, that about this time *Corruption* of every kind must have come to its Height; and sure greater Instances of it never disgraced a State than appeared in *ancient Rome*; as if it had been to counter-balance their former Virtues: But still it was *such* a Corruption as obtains in a great Common-wealth before its Fall, the most plausible Species of the

* *Consules designati.*

worst of Things. They were corrupt and luxurious it is true, which no Talents, how great soever, can compensate to the Public: But they had likewise all the Qualities, which *living at large* brings along with it. They had lost the Taste of the highest human Bliss, Virtue and Patriotism; but had acquired exquisite Feelings on most *other* Subjects; and instead of being *good* Men, had made the bitter Exchange of being in some respects more *polite* and *knowing* Men than their Predecessors. They had formed a just Conception of the Improvements which *common Life* admits from Wealth and Interest, and from a Reputation of Capacity and Understanding. The subservient Arts, of *Building*, *Gardening*, and *Sculpture*, were improved upon the *Grecian* Models, and their real *Standards* settled and known. The Decorations of Furniture, the Conveniencies of Bathing and Exercise, the Delicacies of Bed and Table were put in the easiest and nicest Order: Even those of a higher Nature, and less apt to satiate, *Learning*, *Love*, and *Appearances* of Friendship, had their Shares and Parts assigned them, and were made to contribute, each in its Place, to the main Design of what they *foolishly* thought *living happily*. For they had bartered *Realities* for an *Appearance*, public Spirit for private Ambition, solid Grandeur for empty Show, and by that means had *foregone the God-like Virtue of their Ancestors*, one Day of whose glorious Lives out-weighed Ages of their luxurious Drudgery.

Formerly the *Roman Youth* attended the *Senators* going to their solemn Assembly, and waited pati-

ently, as 'twere *at the Posts of Wisdom's Doors*, until the Senate was dismissed, that they might severally reconduct their great Instructors in *Virtue* and the *Laws* to their Habitations: A Practice that at once inured them to Modesty and Patience, and begat deep respect in their Minds for the Decrees of that venerable Meeting. But *now*, they were employed in Dress and Trifling, in going to Plays and talking of Actors and Actresses; or put under the Tuition of some *Grecian* Preceptor, as we do under a *French* Tutor, who taught them to prate, and practise Luxury.

Formerly the *Customs* and *Rules* introduced by Necessity and sanctified by the Laws, were held so inviolable, that the greatest Men bowed before them: but *now* these sacred Forms must give way not only to the Interest and Passions, but to the Pride and Laziness of those they ought to have governed. Formerly no Man could be admitted to exercise Magistracy, or enter upon the high Dignities of the Common-wealth, under a certain Age, and without having first run through the inferior Offices. These were now *dispensed* with, upon an Application, with *proper Donatives* to the People. Formerly no Officer civil or military, (Capacities for the most part *blended* in Rome,) entered upon his Command or Charge, without consulting the Gods by *Augury*, and obtaining Signs of their Approbation. A *show* of this was still kept up; but *Ways* and *Means* were fallen upon to mollify these rigid Requisites, and bring them to a polite Compliance with the Ease of the Citizens. The new-

electd *Consul* or *Pretor*, getting up by the Dawn; made a certain Prayer in open Air, when immediately an *Augur*, present and paid for that purpose, affirmed 'all was well; that Jupiter gave Signs of Acceptance and Prosperity by a Clap of Thunder (which no body heard) on the left.'

In the first Ages of the Republic, *Power* and *Provinces* had been courted as the Means of gaining Honor, by defending Allies, humbling Enemies, and enlarging the Empire: But now, the prime *Magistracies*, *Consulships*, and *Priesthoods*, were coveted as *Resources* of a broken Fortune, and the *Governments* of *Provinces*, as *Opportunities* of *Rapine*, and making Provision for *Luxury*. Their Colonies, by which they had made *Italy* a sort of Suburbs to *Rome*, and secured their most distant Conquests, were formerly of two sorts; either, as was observed, a *veteran Legion* at the Conclusion of a War settled for its good Service in the finest Spot of the conquered Land; or the superfluous Number of Artificers and indigent Citizens, crowded in and about *Rome*, led out to a free and more commodious Situation: But now the leading forth of a Colony, was either a *Bribe* of public Lands to a lazy corrupt Populace, to favor some illegal Demand; or it was the *Domain* of some free City taken by Force, and bestowed upon the Crew of *Ruffians* that had assisted their Leader to trample upon the Laws, and massacre the Men that legally possessed it.

The Loss of *Morality* and of the Regard due to the *Religion* of a Country loosens the whole Frame

of Government; but its pernicious Effects are chiefly conspicuous in the *Regulations* that sprang from their highest Virtue. The Censorship in Rome, a kind of absolute Monarchy in *Manners*, as the Dictatorship in the *State*, became an invidious Office, first gloomy and morose, and at last impracticable in the Execution. The Triumph was formerly the glorious Recompence of the highest civil and military Merit. It was the final Reward of Integrity in Power, — of a Life spent in the Service of Rome, and crowned by leading home her Sons victorious and her Foes in Chains. This was now basely prostituted. — It was given not only *without*, but against Desert; it turned to vain *Show* of Rarities, and Ostentation of Magnificence. — The *triumphal Ensigns*, a Fantom contrived by the Emperors, grew contemptible and ridiculous; and many a Commander entered *Rome* in a triumphal Chariot, that for his Cruelty, Extortion, and Cowardice better deserved the Cart of the Executioner. The other Honors of the Commonwealth, were sometimes ravished by Impudence and Force, sometimes given to *mere* Nobility and empty Name; but for the greater part, the Dignities of *Rome*, the most sacred not excepted, were purchased from a corrupt People⁹ by immense Bribes, and Sums that even yet seem incredible.

Farther Description of the Degeneracy of the Roman Manners would be but unpleasant: For who cares to dwell upon the black Sides of an

⁹ *Sectorque favoris — ipse sui Populus.*

once renowned Nation? Besides, that a Sett of Observations have been thrown together by a very masterly Hand, which set many Circumstances both of the *Roman* Growth and Decay in a curious and entertaining Light. I therefore chuse to put it upon the greatest *Orator* and the greatest *Historian* ever Rome produced, to sum up the Account of the Men and Manners among whom they lived.

Old Ennius, a true Roman Poet, (sound Sense and noble Sentiments delivered in the rude Phrase of a martial People) happened to live at the Period when Magnificence and Luxury were just beginning to steal into the State, but durst not openly show their Faces: Yet the Bard perceived their silent Progress, dreaded its Consequences, and like a true Friend to Virtue and his Country, uttered the memorable Verse,

*By Men and Manners of the ancient Stamp
Stands mighty Rome.*

‘ This Line, says the eloquent Patriot, for its
‘ Conciseness and Truth seems to have been pro-
‘ nounced, as it were, from an *Oracle*. For neither
‘ was it in the Power of the *greatest Men* to have
‘ founded and propagated so vast and extensive an
‘ Empire as *ours*, unless the *general Manners* had
‘ been sound and good; nor could these Manners
‘ have done it of themselves, without *such Men* to
‘ lead and improve them. It is past dispute, that
‘ before these latter Days, *the Manners of our Country*

‘ *Réflexions sur la Grandeur & Décadence des Romains.*

Par M. L. P. Montesquieu.

‘ *Moribus antiquis stat Res Romana, Virisque.*

' formed excellent *Men*, who in return, sustained
 ' and dignified the Rites and Customs of our An-
 ' cestors: But the *Generation* in which we live,
 ' having received the Common-weal intrusted to
 ' its Guardianship, like some excellent Piece of a
 ' famed Master, but faded through Years, has not
 ' only neglected to refresh its former Coloring,
 ' but has lost the very Draught and main Lines
 ' of the Picture. For what is there now preserved
 ' of these *ancient Manners* upon which the Poet
 ' hangs the Safety of the Roman State? They are
 ' so totally effaced, — so lost in oblivion, that in-
 ' stead of being *used*, they are not so much as
 ' *known*. It is needless to mention the Men, for
 ' want of whom the *Manners* are disused, and the
 ' Virtues of our Forefathers appear *strange* to their
 ' Posterity. I must acknowledge, that for this fatal
 ' Degeneracy, we are bound not only to *account*,
 ' but make a solemn Defence as in a capital Accu-
 ' sation: For it is by no evil Chance, or accidental
 ' Calamity, but merely through our Vices, that
 ' we have only the *Name* of a Common-wealth,
 ' but have long ago lost the *Reality*.'

It was first, says the *Historian*, upon the Expul-
 sion of the Kings, that every *Roman* began to feel
 himself a *free Man*; to rouse his Genius and exert
 his Talents; so that it seems almost incredible how
 rapidly the Republic rose after the Establishment
 of their *Liberty*. A noble Emulation and a Thirst
 of Glory had universally seized the Citizens. The

* M. T. Ciceronis de Rep. Fragm. apud Augustin. de
 Civ. Dei. Lib. II. § 21.

Youth as soon as they could wield a Weapon, learned Warfare by Toil and Practice in the *Camp*; where happily ignorant of Revels and Debauch, their Pleasures lay in the Beauty of their Armour, and in Horses trained for War. To Men so bred, no Ground was too rough to march, no Hill too steep to climb, no Fatigue intolerable, nor Sight dismaying of an armed Foe. Among themselves the sole Contest was for Fame, — to strike the Enemy, to be the first Man to mount the Wall, — to be *seen* doing such glorious Deeds; *that* they reckoned the greatest Riches, *that* was Fame, and the highest Nobility. Greedy of Praise, and unconcerned for Gain, an immense Reputation and moderate Estate was the Wish of their Lives. By this means sound Morals prevailed both at home and abroad; and there was the highest Concord whilst there was the least Avarice. Right and Public Good swayed not so much in Virtue of the *Laws*, as by Habit and Inclination. As for Broils, Quarrels and Animosities, these they wrecked upon the Foes of *Rome*; but Citizen only strove with Citizen for Pre-eminence in Virtue. By these two Qualities, a *steady Courage* in War, and *Equity* and *Moderation* in Peace, they governed themselves and the Common - weal. Of this we have a convincing Proof; that in time of War the military Punishments were more frequently inflicted upon those who had *fought* contrary to Orders, or who had *continued* fighting after the Signal was sounded for Retreat, than upon such as had deserted their Colors, or suffered themselves to be driven from their Rank.

But, when Peace was once concluded, they then employed their Power in *doing Good*, and kept up their Authority more by bestowing Benefits than terrifying their Subjects; and even when injured, chose rather to forgive than avenge an Insult.

But when through a Tract of Justice, Toil and Fortitude, the Common-wealth had mightily increased; when great Kings had been subdued, savage Nations and powerful States been vanquished by dint of Sword; when Carthage, the Rival of the Roman Grandeur, was rased from the Foundation; when Sea and Land were laid open by their Valor, then began *Fortune*⁹ to frown and confound every thing. For the very Men who had suffered Fatigues, and encountered Dangers undaunted, who had surmounted Adversity, and smiled under Hardships, Peace and Wealth (the supreme Wish of others) proved their final Ruin. And in the first place, *Love of Power*, and next, *Love of Money*, infected their Minds: These proved the Fuel of all sort of Wickedness. For prevailing *Avarice* effaces Honesty, Probity, and every better Sentiment of the human Heart,—and in their stead introduces Haughtiness, Cruelty, Neglect of Religion and infamous Venality: while, on the other side, lawless *Ambition* drives headlong to Falshood, to have one Thing in the Heart, and another ready on the Tongue,—to measure Friendship and Enmity not by Merit, but Conveniency,—and to have a better Countenance than Life and Conversation.

⁹ Fortune! an empty name, of no Significancy; being a Bond-servant to *Industry* and *Virtue*.

These Vices creeping in by slow Degrees, were often checked in the beginning; severe Laws were made against them, and some good Men bent the whole Power of their Magistracy to quell and extirpate them: But it was too late: The Contagion had spread too wide, and, like a general Pestilence, had infected the whole Body of the Commonwealth. Then it was that a total Change was wrought upon the *City of Rome*, and that the *Roman Government*, of the justest and best, became the most cruel and intolerable Yoke in the World. At first, however, it was rather Ambition than Avarice that perverted their Minds; a Vice that has some *Resemblance* to Virtue. For, all Men, the worthless as well as worthy, are desirous of Fame, Honors and Command. The Difference is, that the one takes the fair laudable Road to obtain them, while the other, destitute of good Qualities to recommend him, has Recourse to Fraud and Fallacy. But Avarice, a sordid Vice, implies a Greed of Lucre, which no truly wise Man was ever tainted with: For, as if drenched in deadly Poison, it debases the Soul it once seizes on, enervates the Body, and extinguishes every Spark of Manhood; being endless, insatiate and equally craving in Affluence as in Want.

When therefore the Republic, rescued by *Sylla's* victorious Arms, from very fair Beginnings found a bitter Issue, his Officers and Partisans began to exercise all manner of Violence, and rob and rend whatever they coveted: One a fine House, another an Estate; Modesty and Modera-

were trampled under Foot, and the Victors committed horrid Cruelties on the Persons and Families of their Fellow-citizens. This had been chiefly owing to *Sylla's* own Conduct, while he commanded in chief against *Mithridates*. To gain the Army to his ends, he had, contrary to the *Roman Discipline*, indulged them in all Licentiousness. The delicious Climate and pleasurable Groves of *Asia*, conspiring with this Indulgence of the General, easily blunted the military Fierceness of the Troops amidst Ease and Affluence. It was there then the Army of the Roman People first learned to abandon themselves to Wine and Women; — to admire Pictures, Statues, and Vases of curious Workmanship, — to spare neither public Temple, nor private Dwelling, to come at their Possession; to trample upon all Ties, civil or sacred, to fulfil their Lust or satiate their Avarice.

When such an Army as this, brought home to Italy, was victorious in many fierce Encounters, and at last totally routed the *Marian* Faction under the very Walls of Rome, they behaved in their own Country in the same Way, as they had done in the *Asiatic* Provinces. They stripped the vanquished of every thing. High Prosperity is the Enemy that even *Wisdom* has most to fear. What then could be expected from a corrupt Army in the Insolence of Victory?

But after this fatal Period, Wealth, mere Wealth, however purchased, was supremely honored; and drew in its Train, Places, Power and Reputation. Virtue began to languish; Poverty became

a Reproach; — and *Sanctity of Manners* was interpreted into Gloom and Malevolence. Then the formerly hardy and brave Roman Youth, by being delicately bred, became luxurious, covetous, and proud, — learned to plunder in order to spend, — grew careless of their own Estates, and envious of their Neighbours; and being withheld by no Consideration, by degrees discarded Shame, laughed at Modesty, and set every thing to Sale, human and divine.

It is worth a wise Man's while, after having considered the *Houses* and *Villas* of the latter Romans, built liker *Towns* than Country-seats, to review the Temples which their Ancestors, the most religious of the human Race, had reared to the Gods. These good and great Men adorned the Temples with their *Piety*, and their own Houses with the *Fame of their Actions*: Nor did they deprive the People they had vanquished of any one thing, except the Power of insulting their Neighbours. But their worthless Progeny, a dastardly Generation, with the utmost Indignity stripped the *Friends* and *Allies* of Rome of all the Possessions, which their victorious Progenitors left them while *Enemies*: as if truly the Sweets of Dominion lay in a Licence to commit Iniquity.

I need scarce relate things which are hardly credible to those who have not seen them; that *Mountains* have been levelled, and *Seas paved* in many Places by private Men; who seem to me to have wasted Wealth through mere Wantonness, since they chose to lavish those Riches in riot, which

they might have enjoyed with honor and decency. But along with these Enormities, *Debauchery* universally prevailed. Extravagance in Dress and Equipage, unnatural Prostitution, Men forgetting their Sex and Women — Shame; Sea and Land ranfacked for Dainties, — eating before Appetite, drinking without Thirst, sleeping without Lassitude, and every Call of Nature prevented through Luxury. When young Men so educated, came to the Management of their own Estates, they ran them quickly out, and were then ready to listen to any desperate Counsel. For a Mind plunged in Vice, and given up to indulge *every* Desire, can ill forego its wonted Pleasure, — and therefore lies open to *any* Temptation, and will startle at *no* Method to supply its Wants, or feed its Profusion^r.

But though the great Authors from whom I have taken these dismal Draughts, represent this Degeneracy as universal, they must be understood with a little discretion. That the Run of Luxury was general, is too true; yet it suffered great Exceptions. The *Constitution* apparently subsisted, *Liberty* rose to a degree of *Licentiousness*, the *Customs* and *Forms* both of Courts and Families, introduced by their virtuous Ancestors, still took place. — *These*, and many combining Accidents preserved, in so vast an Empire, many a Mind untainted with the common Contagion; and *some Spirits*, the Pride of Nature, are so moulded by her all powerful Hand, as to grow up sound, though surrounded with Disease, and improve

^r C. Sallust. Bell. Catilin.

their Health, as it were, by living in a *Pest-house*. For it is a peculiar Effect of corrupt Morals, to make *Worth* and *Virtue*, where they are genuine, shine with redoubled Lustre; not only as now set off with so many Foils; but as the general Temper and Manners run cross, they are justly supposed to proceed from *Principle* rather than *Custom*, and like other Things, acquire an additional Value, by their Rareness and Difficulty.

Such then was the Condition of the Roman State, when a Sett of Men of the greatest Talents for Peace or War that are upon Record in History, made their Appearance upon the exalted Scene. There was *Catulus*, *Lentulus*, and *Cotta*, Men of Dignity and Eloquence; and the more professed Orators *Hortensius*, *Calvus*, and *Cicero*: They were both *Speakers* and *Captains*, *Metellus*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey the Great*; and to leave out no kind of Character, there was the Patron of the profligate *Julius Cæsar*, and the Friend of Virtue, *M. Portius Cato*. These were eminent among many others of great Capacity: Some of them are as yet the Admiration of Posterity: as more of them might have been, had they not made it apparent that rather than remain contented with the legal Honors of *Rome*, they chose by a Series of Crimes, to wade through Seas of Blood to their Country's Ruin.

C. Julius Cæsar, of a noble Family; passed an infamous and abandoned Youth. But when he grew up and began to intermeddle in Business, he gave Proofs of his being possessed of every

Quality necessary to make a great Man, had they not all been poisoned by being employed in the worst of Purposes, *the enslaving his native Country*, and converting the glorious Roman Republic into an *abject Tyranny*.

He was naturally brave, eloquent, and profuse; patient in Toils, keen and constant in his Pursuits, graceful in Person, of vast Reach in Business, thoughtful, restless, and usurping. This ran through his whole Life: For such was his insatiate Thirst of *Power*, such was his impatience to *domineer*, that from the Time he became capable of Affairs, that Plot was never formed, nor Design laid by lawless Men to embroil the State, in which this lawless Youth had not, or wanted not to have his Share. Though his Family had been remarkably attached to the *better Party*, yet from the first Minute he was his own *Master*, through a strange Depravity of Inclination and Hatred of Order, he constantly sided with the *low, licentious Populace*, and aimed at destroying the Laws, and humbling their Friends and Defenders, the Nobility and Senate. This Disposition had not escaped *Sylla's* piercing Eye; who with great Reluctance spared his Life: But happening to be in *Cilicia*, serving one of his first Campaigns under *Servilius Isauricus*, when the News of the *Dictator's* Death reached the Army, accompanied with a Report that *M. Lepidus*, a turbulent Man, then Consul, was to put himself at the Head of the old *Marian* Faction, repeal *Sylla's* Laws, and seize upon the Commonwealth; the young Volunteer hereupon quickly

abandoned his General and the Army, and hastened to Rome to take Part in the seditious Enterprize: and though *Lepidus* himself met with the Reward of his Deeds, and perished soon after, yet such was the young *Cæsar's* Affection to the Party, that he undertook the Cause of the Out-laws, and had the Interest to procure from their Friends the Populace, the Revocation of their Sentence of Banishment.

When military Tribune, (the first Honor depending upon the Votes of the Tribes) he exerted his whole Might in assisting the Heads of the *Marian* Faction, who were pressing for the Restoration of the *Tribunes* of the People, (the Incendiaries of the State) and whose exorbitant Powers had been clipped, though the Office itself was not abolished by *Sylla*. By four Laws he had made a vast Revolution in the Roman Government. First by restoring the original Institution, that no Reference should be made to the *People*, nor any Matter debated in their Assembly that had not been first canvassed and decreed by the Senate. Next, that according to *Servius Tullius's* Scheme, the Commons should divide and vote only by *Centuries*, never by Tribes; thirdly, by abolishing the *Negative* of the Tribunes, depriving them of the Power of calling the Senate, or meddling with any thing that did not concern a Plebeian. And lastly, by disqualifying all but Patricians from being chosen *Judges* in any Cause public or private, and by that means putting the Lives and Fortunes of the Citizens almost in the Hands of the Nobility.

These salutary Laws the headstrong *Lepidus*² attempting to overturn at once, was overpowered by his Colleague *Q. Catulus*, as we just now observed, and was quickly put to Flight. — But other ambitious popular Men, finding it easier to deceive the Multitude, and obtain irregular Commands from *them*, than from the *Senate*; and the *Patricians*, by shameful Prostitution in their *judicative* Capacity, giving too good a Handle, the Laws were attacked one by one, till they were repealed, and the Commonwealth again left at the Mercy of the turbulent *Tribunes* and venal *Vulgar*, as before the *Marian* Distractions. In bringing about this calamitous Change, and particularly in re-investing the *Tribunes* in their fatal *Negative* on others, and Power of *proposing* Laws themselves, no Man was so keen as the young *Cæsar*.

The next Office in Course, according to the Roman Custom, was to be *Questor*, that is, *Paymaster* or *Lieutenant* to a *Pretor* or *Consul* going to govern a Province of the Empire. But *Cæsar* being sent into Spain in that Capacity, quickly wearied of doing his Duty: He deserted his *Pretor* and the *Province*, and went directly where there were Hopes of an *Insurrection*. The Colonies, originally *Romans*, were a powerful Body in *Italy*: Some of them had obtained the Freedom of the City, and their Inhabitants were on the same Footing with *those of Rome*: Others of them had only the Immunities of the ancient *Latins*, (In-

² Ἄνὴρ καταπληκτικός. Πλεταρχ. He fled to Sardinia, where
habitants

habitants of *Latium*) but in the late Confusions had been spirited up to demand Admission to all the Honors of the *Romans*. Among *these* did this hopeful *Magistrate* make a Circuit, and had certainly instigated them to rebel, had not the *Consuls* kept the Legions destinated for *Cilicia* longer than usual in their Neighbourhood.

Disappointed here, and always restless, he hastened to Town, to stand for the *Edileship*; which he obtained: But a few Days before he entered upon it, he was strongly suspected of having entered into a Conspiracy with *M. Crassus* (a noted Patron of bad Men) formerly *Consul*, and *P. Sylla*, and *P. Autronius* nominated to that high Office, but condemned for Bribery and their Election voided. The Design was laid, 'to murder the *Senate*, 'make *Crassus* Dictator, *Cæsar* Master of the Horse, 'new-model (that is destroy) the Common wealth, 'and restore the Consulship to *Autronius* and *Sylla*.' But *Crassus's* Heart (not *Cæsar's*) failed him at the Thought of such horrid Deeds: He did not keep the Day appointed for the Execution; and *Cæsar* who *did*, was afraid without him to give the concerted Sign (throwing his Robe from his Shoulders) to begin the Massacre.

When this failed, *Cæsar* next associated with a wild audacious Youth, *Cn. Piso*; who forgetting his Character and Family, (one of the noblest in *Rome*) had first reduced himself to Beggary, and then entered into a Plot with a Sett of Ruffians to make a Sedition in the City, murder the

he died of Shame and Anguish.

Consuls, and make the infamous *L. Catiline* and *P. Autronius* supreme Magistrates in their stead. This Design, which should have been executed the beginning of December, having taken air, they were obliged to postpone it to the February following; upon the sixth Day of which the most execrable Thing since Rome was a City had been perpetrated, if the fierce *Catiline* had not come out *too soon*; and given the Sign before the Senate-gate to begin the Carnage, ere the Band of armed Slaves was assembled to execute it. To rid the City of such a Traitor, the Senate, principally at the Persuasion of *Crassus*, sent *Piso* Pro-pretor to the hithermost *Spain*. But before he went away, *Julius Cæsar* and *He* conspired to rise in Arms against the Government at one and the same Time; *Cæsar* in the City, at the Head of the old abandoned Crew, and *Piso* in the *nearest Gaul*, now *Lombardy*; whence he had a quick March to Rome, and where they were 'to make away' with the Consuls and seize the Government. But *Piso's* Death, who was killed on his Journey by his own Troopers for imperious Cruelty, put an End to the bloody Design; but not to the Plots of his Partner.

For *Cæsar* having by vast Profusion in his *Edileship* ruined his Estate, but entirely gained the Multitude, he bribed one of the Tribunes to propose an Ordinance 'to invest him (*Cæsar*)' with the Pretorian Dignity, give him the Command of an Army, with a Commission to march 'into *Egypt*, the richest Kingdom in Alliance' with Rome, to re-establish *Ptolomy* their King,

' (*Cleopatra's* Father) whom the People of *Alexandria* had ejected for Mis-government.' The Ordinance did not pass, having been unanimously opposed by the whole Body of the Nobility: To be revenged on them, having found out the Statues and Trophies of *C. Marius*, their virulent Enemy, which *Sylla* had overturned and defaced, he had them privately repaired and new-gilt; and on the Morning of a solemn Day, erected them in the *Capitol*, exposed to the View and Adoration of the Populace, whose Patron *Marius* had been, in which *Cæsar* now openly professed himself his Successor'.

There had been one *Apuleius Saturninus*, the most furious and pestilent of all the popular *Tribunes*, at first a favorite Tool of *Marius*, and then betrayed by that perfidious Man. This Fellow stuck at nothing, Tumult, Murder, or any Violence. His Fury rose to such a pitch that the People themselves turned upon him, and breaking into the *Capitol*, whither he had fled, with *C. Rabirius* another Tribune at their Head, they beat and stoned him to Death. For this *Cæsar* suborned one of his Creatures, to impeach *Rabirius* of Rebellion*, and appoint a Day for his Trial: When it came, and the Judge was to be chosen by Lot, to his utmost Satisfaction *Cæsar's* own Name was drawn

³ It was upon this occasion that *Q. Catulus* said, *Cæsar* was not now *undermining* the Government; but openly *storming* it, as with a *Battering-Ram*.

* XL Years after the Event.

out of the Urn. He was forced to go through the common *Formality* of hearing both Parties; but in spite of Evidence, and contrary to Law, he condemned the *old Man* with such *eager* Precipitancy, that upon an Appeal, the very People acquitted him, chiefly upon account of the flagrant Iniquity of the Judge.

In the next Step of *Cæsar's* Life, while he was Pretor, that is next in Power to the *Consuls*, capable of the Government of Provinces, of commanding Armies, and judging the highest Causes, his Designs, if not more criminal, (which they could not be) were at least better laid. His Correspondence with *L. Catiline* had not been broke off by *Piso's* Death: How deeply he dipped is uncertain; but he was accused by two Witnesses as one of the Conspirators, with *Catiline* in the horrible Plot to burn the City, butcher the Senate, and ravage the Empire: But finding their Counsels were blown, and the Business turned desperate, he had the Artifice to send Informations of several Particulars to *M. T. Cicero*, then Consul and Preserver of *Rome*: He called therefore upon him, now, when accused before the Fathers, to bear witness of his Innocence, which the Consul, for Reasons of Prudence, readily complied with. This protected him from a double Information, one before the *Questor* Novius, and the other in the *Senate*, though no Body doubted the Truth of his Guilt. But *Cæsar*, not contented with escaping himself, undertook the Cause of the convicted Traitors, with such Warmth and Obstinacy, that

he both fixed the Persuasion of his own Treason, and drew upon himself the Indignation of all good Men. The Roman Knights, then standing in Arms to guard the *Senate*, had a great mind to have dispatched him; and shook their Swords so menacingly in his Face, that the Senators sitting next him ran away; and *C. Curio*, with another Friend, grasping about him, and covering him with their Robes, hardly rescued him out of their Hands. This imminent Danger did at length fright him: He abandoned the Opposition, and came no more to the Senate for that Year.

But the very first Day of the next, when he entered upon the *Exercise* of his Office, he called *Q. Catulus*, the Prince of the *Senate*, to appear judicially before the People, and account for the vast Sums laid out by him in repairing the *Capitol*, which had been burnt to the Ground in the *Marian* civil War: And at the same Time made a Motion, that the Inspection and Management of that great Work might be transferred from *Catulus* to some other Man. But the Probity and Worth^{*} of the first Senator of Rome being universally admired, he was baffled in both these Points: And therefore, never quiet, he joined Interests with an impudent Tribune, *Metellus Nepos*, who was endeavouring to push through some pernicious Laws, even in spite of his Colleague-Tribunes; and

* *Q. Catulus*, quem neque periculi tempestas, neque honoris aura, potuit unquam de suo cursu, aut spe aut metu, dimovere.

Cicero.

headed the Rabble with him so avowedly, that by a solemn Decree of the Senate, both *Metellus* and *Cæsar* were deprived of their Dignity, and declared incapable of exercising their Office for that Year. In the Face of this Decree, *Cæsar* had the Assurance to order his *Tribunal* to be placed in the *Forum*, and to sit as Pretor to hear Causes as before. But being told that there was an Order issued by the *Consuls* for a Party of Soldiers to drag him down by main Force, he instantly dismissed his *Lictors*, laid aside his *pretorial Robe*, and ran terrified home, with a Resolution to make a Virtue of Necessity, and live peaceably during *these evil Times of good Order and legal Government*.

The News of his Disgrace quickly spread among his Friends the Multitude. Great Numbers of them came flocking about their Leader's House; and in a riotous disorderly manner, bid him 'resume his Dignity, maugre all the *Senate* could do, for they would defend and stand by him to the last.' But whether *Cæsar* had not recovered his Fright, or judged his *Mobile* would be no Match for the *Consular-Legions*, and dreaded the Fate of *Saturninus* or the *Gracchi*, to the general Surprise, he dismissed the giddy Meeting, and desired them to go home and demean themselves like good Citizens. A Senate had been hastily called, upon the first Accounts of the tumultuous Concourse about *Cæsar's* House; and hearing to their Astonishment how regularly, and how like a *Roman Magistrate* he had behaved, they immediately sent some of the chief Men of their

Body, with the Thanks of the *Senate* for what he had done, brought him to the Temple where they were assembled, commended his Conduct in the most honorable Terms; and rescinding their former Act, restored him to the full Exercise of his *pretorial Power*. With such Honor might *Julius Cæsar* have enjoyed the Esteem of his Citizens, and obtained the highest Dignities of his Country, could he have preferred *Order* to *Crimes*, and the Applause of the *best*, to the Society of the *worst* of Men!

The *farther* Spain happened to fall again under his Government after the Expiration of his *Pretorship*, as it had done after he was *Questor*: But either through Dread of an Impeachment from conscious Guilt, or of being arrested by Creditors for an enormous Debt*, or for both, contrary to Law and Custom, he hurried out of Town before the *Provinces* were finally settled, and the Instructions drawn by the Senate, what Troops, what Money, what Clothing, &c. should be employed by each *Pretor*, and to what Purpose, during the Year of his Government. In the Exercise of his Office, instead of protecting, he raised Contributions upon the *Allies of Rome*, and with inhuman

* Λίγεται Καίσαρ πρὶν εἰς ἀρχὴν τινὰ καθίστασθαι, χιλίων ἢ τριακοσίων γενέσθαι χρεωφειλέτης ταλάντων. i. e. Cæsar is said, before he entered upon any Office, to have run in Debt to the Amount of L. 251,875 *sterl.* Πλεῖσταρ. Καίσαρ. and on this occasion M. Crassus bailed him for ὀκτακοσίων ἢ τριᾶκοντα ταλάντων, i. e. L. 160,811 *sterl.*

Perfidy plundered several Towns in *Portugal*, who had sent Delegates to know his Commands, and had received the Traitor and his Army *with open Gates as Friends*. When this Work was over, which enabled him to clear a Part of his Debts, and which he substituted in place of *administering Justice*, and promoting the *Peace and Prosperity* of the Province, he abandoned it in the same illegal Manner he had gone thither; and without waiting for a Successor to receive the Charge of the *Army and Government*, he took Post for Rome, to seek a *Triumph* and the *Consulship*.

There were two other Competitors for that high Office, *L. Lucceius* and *M. Bibulus*; *Lucceius* was a monied Man, very applicable to *Cæsar's* Measures, but not very gracious with the People. *Cæsar* by his former Profusion and Load of Debt, had left himself little to give: but being a Person of Address, he prevailed with *Lucceius* to bribe in both their Names, as he should conjunctly recommend him to the Multitude. *Cæsar* was now well known in the *Senate*, and the Profligacy of his Manners exceedingly detested by the grave and good Men in that august Assembly: they dreaded the Consequences of his being possessed of the supreme Dignity in the Republic, for which, dropping his ill-deserved Triumph, he stood a Candidate; but especially if he obtained a Colleague of his own Stamp to concur with him in his Projects, they thought, not without reason, he would stick at nothing to raise himself and embroil the Common-wealth. The Nobility therefore

prompted the other Competitor *M. Bibulus*, to promise as much Money to the mercenary Populace as *Lucceius* had done, and raised themselves the Sum by Contribution, with the Approbation even of *M. Portius Cato*, who acknowledged ' *That Bribery, at least, to be evidently for the Public-Good,*' By this means *M. Bibulus* and *Julius Cæsar* were declared Consuls. To give the latter Access to do as little Mischief as possible, the same Persons took Care that the *Consular-Provinces*, depending upon the *Senate*, should be those of the least Importance, and affording the fewest Handles for Usurpation; such as the Inspection of the *Forests*, and Reparation of the *high Ways* through *Italy*. This provoked the aspiring *Cæsar* beyond all Patience. It struck at his darling Passion *to domineer*, and put him upon racking his Brains for *other Methods* to obtain his Ends.

Cn. Pompey and *M. Crassus* were at that time the two most powerful Men in the Empire, but at high Variance; their conjunct Consulship having been one continued Scene of Diffension. They were both formed for Business, good Speakers, and equal to the greatest Enterprises. *Crassus* by his Knowledge of *Rome*, Practice in the *Courts*, and above all by his immense *Wealth*, bore great Sway; but *Pompey* shone above him by his *military Glory*, the Splendor of his *Triumphs*, and the Clientships of *Kings*: at the same time the vast *Treasures* (Spoils of the conquered Nations) and various Employments he had to bestow on his

Creatures, gave him the chief Stroke in the Administration: while these two Leaders took *opposite* Sides, the State remained free between them: their Power was reciprocally poised; and there was Room left for the *Senate* to cast the Balance in favor of better Counsels, by falling into the salutary Scale.

Cæsar, sagacious in Evil, considering this State of Parties, quickly saw, that if the *two Chiefs* would join Interests, they would be irresistible, especially if underpropped by his Credit with the *corrupt* Part of the State; and therefore labored with all his might to bring about a Reconciliation. *M. Crassus*, from a Similitude of Manners in public Life (being a professed Patron of bad Men⁷) was his particular Friend; as appeared by his relieving him out of the Hands of his most inexorable Creditors, at the Expiration of his Pretorship. It remained therefore to gain Pompey the great, whose Friendship *Cæsar* spared no Pains, Art, or Interest, to acquire. That truly great and good Man was regular, moral, and disinterested: But his Foible lay in such a Thirst of *legal* Power, and such an unhappy Proneness to *Popularity*⁸,

⁷ Ne Crassus, *more suo*, suscepto malorum patrocínio Remp. conturbaret.

C. Sallust. Bell. Catilin.

⁸ Cn. Pompeius innocentia eximius, sanctitate præcipuus —potentia quæ honoris causâ ad eum deferretur, non ut ab eo occuparetur, cupidissimus.—Neque eo viro quisquam, aut alia omnia minus, aut gloriam magis concupiit.

C. Vell. Patercul. Lib. II. § 29—33.

that he was frequently engaged in mischievous Measures, and induced by others to do wrong Things, contrary to his own Judgment and noble Nature. It was thus, that he, who had been almost the next Man to L. Sylla in quelling the *Marian* Faction, and reforming the Constitution from the *Tribunitian* Abuses, was afterwards prevailed upon, to restore that very Power of the Tribunes, in order to preserve the Favor of the Multitude. *Cæsar* was now the Minion of the common People, as *Catiline* had been before; and *Pompey*, who never once imagined it possible for such a *Profligate* to become his Rival, thought he might use him as his Tool among the Tribes, in order principally to confirm his Grants and Regulations in the *East*, and therefore answered the Advances he made him with equal Shows of Civility. In a word, the artful *Cæsar*, full of Rage at the Laws and Senate, the Bars to his Ambition, first wrought himself separately into the good Graces of these two eminent Men, and then so softened the Prejudices they had long entertained against one another, that he got them first to meet and talk over the public Affairs, and at last to enter into a strict Correspondence; the Result of which was a solemn Agreement between him and them, *That nothing should be done in the State which displeased either, Pompey, Crassus, or Cæsar.*

* *Omnino cuncta plebes—Catilina incoepa probabat.*

C. Sallust. Bell. Catilin.

This was the fatal and pernicious Combination that first blasted the Vigor of the *Roman Republic*. It was a latent, but *effective* Tyranny established in a free Common-wealth; an *Oligarchy*, or Government of *three*, who ruled as absolutely, as it was possible to do without Arms and Conquest. It gave a deplorable Turn to the Tide of Liberty, by contracting the Channel of Government, hampering the free independent Spirit of the Citizens, and drawing the Vitals, as it were, of the Empire into so narrow Bounds, as to starve the other Parts necessary for its Strength and Preservation. The rising Youth, and even the Men of Standing and Character in Affairs, instead of founding their Hopes upon their Integrity and Services^x, were taught by this fatal Conjunction, that no Merit could *promote*, nor Innocence *protect*, without the Favor of an *overgrown Director*, who disposed of Offices, and explained the Laws according to his Interest or Inclination. *Dependency*, that servile soul-debasing Habit, the usual Forerunner of Slavery, naturally ensued: the manly, generous

^x Commutata tota ratio est Senatus, Judiciorum, Rei Totius Publicæ. Otium nobis exoptandum est; quod ii qui *potiuntur rerum* (Pompeius, Crassus & Cæsar) præstaturi videntur, si quidam homines (Cato, Marcellus, Domitius) patientius eorum potentiam ferre potuerint. Dignitatem quidem illam *Consularem*, fortis & constantis *Senatoris*, nihil est quod cogitemus; amissa est.

M. T. Cicer. Ad Fam. Lib. I. Ep. 8.

Temper of a Roman was damped and discouraged²: the Public by degrees lost sight of *Virtue*, the Source of public and private Happiness, and was obliged to turn its eyes upon *three Men*, who with a great Mixture of Merit and Crimes had thrust and wriggled themselves into the place of the *Laws*, and eluded the *Constitution*. *Pompey* rather connived at, and *Crassus* rather abetted the illegal Things done by their Creatures, than committed Misdemeanors in their own Persons; but their Associate in the *Triumvirate*, being then *Consul*, went a different way to work.

The Roman Consuls, as was formerly observed, were *Kings in Rome* for one Year; and had all the Power of the Royalty vested in their Persons, as the Ensigns of it were carried before them. They were Heads both of the Senate and People, Generals of the Republic, Guardians and Executors of the Laws, and Protectors of the Privileges of the several Orders in the State: And having been for the most part Patricians, or of such rich plebeian Families as came to have the same Interests and Sentiments, the Consuls were deemed trusty Defenders of the *Nobility* and *Senate*, against the Violence of the Tribunes, and Venality of the

² Non offendes eundem Bonorum sensum quem reliquisti, qui nunc ab iis à quibus tuendus erat derelictus. Ita non solum fronte & vultu declarant ii qui tum, nostro illo statu Optimates nominabantur, sed etiam sententiâ sæpe jam tabulâque docuerunt.

People. This had been so much the Case, that the noble *Q. Catulus* seeing *Cicero* apprehensive of *Clodius's* Tribuneship, bid him "take courage, that
" no harm could befall him if *either* of the Consuls
" was a good Man; and since ever *Rome* was a
" City, it had never happened except under *Cinna*,
that both Consuls were bad ones."

But *Julius Cæsar* having entered upon this high Office, perverted its Purpose, and turned its Power to oppress the Men, and bear down the Measures he ought to have defended. And first to prevent any Obstruction from his Colleague-consul, *He*, who should have been the Preserver of the Peace of the City, and protected the Magistrates in the exercise of their Offices, set the infamous *Vatinius* at the head of his armed Mob, who first pelted *Bibulus* and his Retinue with Dirt and Stones, and at last drove him by force of Arms out of the *Forum*. This first Step, (by which this insolent Trampler upon Laws plainly forfeited their Protection) let the Romans see what they had to expect. Violence is a Dissolution of all legal Government; and Violence exercised in the Sanctuary of Justice, and against the Person of a Colleague of equal and regal Authority, had all the Aggravations of intolerable Insult. He then proceeded, as one of the wildest Tribunes, to pursue those Measures for which the *Gracchi*, the *Sulpitii*, and other *Incendiaries* had formerly lost their Lives; these Counsels did this Consul now bend his whole Force to put in Execution. The *Agrarian Laws*, or Divisions of the public Domain to the Populace, had been the

constant Source of Tumults and Broils, between the *Senate* and Commons, and drew along with them imminent Ruin to the public Revenue. But *Cæsar*, not contented to favor what it was his Duty strenuously to oppose, openly, and in *his own Name* (like a hot-heated Tribune, and not a Roman Consul) proposed this pernicious Law to bribe the Multitude at the expense of the Commonwealth. The *Campanian Lands* (a rich Tract of Country in the Neighbourhood) had been reserved from the time of their being first conquered, as the *Granary of Rome*, and the Fund of an unalienable Revenue for the Exigencies of the State. A Part of it, *the starry Field*³, had been particularly consecrated to sacred Uses, with Imprecations against the Man who should presume to put it to any other. But no Considerations, human or divine, that stood in the way of his Ambition, had any Weight with *Cæsar*: Escorted by Vatinius and his Crew, he preferred a Law to divide these Lands among the poorer People, not by *Lot*, as usual in such cases; *That* would have deprived him of the Power of specially gratifying his Favorites; but at the Discretion of twenty Commissioners whom he selected for that Effect.

As if this had been a small Wound to the Republic, he remitted to the Farmers of the Taxes and public Rents, (the next clearest Subsidy of the State) *one third Part* of all Payments then due upon any Branch of the Revenue; and when the Auction for the next Year's Farms came on, this supreme Magistrate publicly forbid them to make too high

³ Campus Stellatus.

Offers for the Right of levying the new Taxes: In short, to acquire proper Tools for his Purposes, he openly squandered the public Treasure, and gave away to every Creature capable of serving him *whatever they pleased to ask*.

We may reasonably wonder how any single Man, though supreme Magistrate, could do this; or what was become of the other Powers, and of the great Men who had passed through the highest Honors, and retained their Authority which their Virtue and public Spirit had acquired in their Exercise. The Answer is, that too many of them were *Dependants* upon *Pompey* and *Crassus*, now *Cæsar's* Friends, and (to their shame) open Abettors of the *Agrarian-Law*: — That the few who were not, were by downright Violence overborn by a Crew of *Slaves*, *Gladiators*, and other such *Desperadoes*, with *Vatinius* at their Head, who scoured the *Forum* when *Cæsar* had any Job to perform; and if Stones, Sticks, and Dirt were not sufficient, employed more cogent Weapons.

Bibulus, beat out of the *Forum*, as was said, had not the Spirit nor Firmness to exert the *Consular-Power*, collect a Band of his Clients, and repel force by force; but shutting himself up at home, he was contented with publishing Proclamations or *Edicts* against his Colleague's Usurpations: which yet were so universally read and approved*, that they stung *Cæsar* to the quick; and made him so

* *Bibulus in cælo est.*

Cicer. ad Attic.

desperate

desperate as to send *Vatinius* with his Ruffians to attack the Consul's House, in order to drag him out and murder him. This horrid Deed was attempted, and the House of the chief Magistrate of Rome was furiously stormed; but being on his Guard, the Cæsarean Mob was repulsed, and the Infamy rested on the Author.

L. Lucullus, a Man of elevated Genius and elegant Taste, was *Pompey's* chief Rival for military Reputation; and by the Fame of his Victories, the Splendor of his private Life and flowing Humanity, he had likewise great Weight in public Affairs. He thought it his Duty, with the Freedom and Dignity of a *Senator*, to testify his Indignation at *Cæsar's* ruinous Procedure: But being a little obnoxious himself, as not having kept his Hands quite clean during his otherwise glorious Command in *Asia*, Cæsar upon that Foundation, accumulated such a Heap of Calumnies, and terrified him with Accusations for so many Crimes, that now grown old and loving Ease, he bought his Peace by dropping the Opposition.

It was not so with *M. Portius Cato*: A Lover of the Laws and a Friend to Virtue must needs be an Enemy to *Julius Cæsar*. He saw his Designs from the beginning, perceived his tyrannical Turn, and was his constant Adversary: When he and the turbulent *Metellus* combined to pass the Laws that made them both be degraded, it was Cato's inflexible Courage and Steadiness that maintained the Struggle and gained the Victory: And now, when instead of *Pretor*, Cæsar was *Consul*, and supported by two

powerful Abettors, *Cato* nothing the less stood intrepidly up, exposed the pernicious Tendency of his Management, and predicted the Perdition it would entail upon the Republic. It was then that the insolent *Cæsar* commanded a *Lictor* to drag the good Man down from the *Rostra*, and lead him away to Prison. *Cato*, unmoved by the Injury, followed the Officer, but at the same time continued his Speech against the corrupt Alienation of the noblest Fund of the Common-wealth, and the still more destructive Purpose which it was to serve. *Cato dragging to a Jail*, was a melancholy Spectacle to *Rome*: the *Senators*, the *Knights*, and all the sound Part of the People, with heavy Hearts and dejected Looks, followed the Pattern of Virtue, insulted by the Pattern of Vice. *Cæsar* in the mean time watched this Patriot's Behaviour, whether he would rather than go to Prison, appeal to the People, call upon a *Tribune* to intercede, or give any Mark of Submission: But seeing him go undaunted along, and resolute to suffer any thing rather than bow to Tyranny, the superior Worth of the Man, and the Marks of Displeasure breaking from all Ranks, made at last even *Cæsar* ashamed; so that he sent one of his mercenary *Tribunes* to put a Negative upon his own Act, and take *Cato* out of the Hands of the *Lictor*.

M. Tullius Cicero, the Honor of Eloquence, and Model of a civil Magistrate, had by his Vigilance and Virtue saved the City from Fire and Massacre, and received from Rome, while yet free^s, the

^s *Roma Patrem Patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit.*

Juvenal. Sat. viii.

glorious Appellation of Father of his Country. The *Triumvirate* had used all means to gain him to their Party, and he might have had what Share he pleased in the Government: But he was too good, and loved his Country too sincerely, to enter into their Measures. — He stood upon his own *Dignity*, and kept aloof from the public Administration. *Crassus*, seldom a Friend to good Men, had been long his Adversary; and as for *Cæsar*, from his first Entry into Business, *Cicero* had been the second Man who perceived what he was aiming at, and what kind of a Citizen he would prove. For when some were laughing at the Revelling and expensive Feastings of the young *Julius*, as the Effects of Folly and Debauchery, *Cicero* observing *what kind of People* he invited, and the *designing Address* with which he managed these Entertainments, bid them not mistake. — That *Cæsar* in all his Conduct and Way discovered an *ambitious tyrannical Spirit*, which portended no Good to the Common-wealth. But, said he again, when I consider *the nice Disposition of his fine-dressed Hair*, and see him scratch his Head with the Point of his Finger lest he should discompose his Curls, I can scarce let myself believe that such a Head is hatching the horrid Design of destroying the Laws and Liberties of Rome. Long before now that great Man's Doubts were gone: *Cæsar* had fully undeceived him: He therefore applied with all his Art to gain Pompey to the better Party, and make him withdraw from the illegal Confederacy. But either the Love of *present Power*, or of the young *Julia*, *Cæsar's* Daughter, so entangled

that otherwise good Man, that all Cicero's Efforts proved ineffectual. But *Cæsar* perceiving him unshaken in his Attachment to *the public Good*, and hearing that in pleading the Cause of his *quondam* Colleague *C. Antony*, now accused of Oppression in his Province, he had taken the Liberty to bewail *the unhappy State of the Times*, that very Day, and within three Hours of the Speech, he freed the abandoned *Clodius* of the Clogs of the Law that hindered his becoming a Plebeian, — had his mock Adoption ratified by the People, and so qualified him to become a Tribunician-Tool, in order to send away Cato from the Common-wealth, and drive Cicero into Exile. *Clodius* did not fail to perform both these Services to his Patron, and some others of the same Nature, which facilitated *Cæsar's* Purposes, and hastened the public Ruin.

After the Repeal of Sylla's Constitutions, and the Restoration of the *Tribunitian Power* of *distracting the State*, its chief Security lay in certain *Checks*, originally invented by Numa, that prohibited the holding a popular Assembly, or enacting any thing of Moment, either on Court-Days*, or without the proper *Auguries*, or while an *Haruspex* was waiting a *Sign from Heaven*†. These *Checks* made a Part of their *political* as well as *religious Forms*, and had been severally enacted into

* *Dies fasti.* Judicial Days when the Pretor had *verba libera*. The Reason of the Law was to prevent the interfering of *public Business* with *private Causes*.

† *Servare de Cælo.* See Pag. 36 — 37.

Laws, known by the Name of the *Elia and Fufia Statutes* from their Promulgators. These as *Bars* in his Way, though under Pretence of increasing the *Power of the People*, *Cæsar's Tribune*, by one Law, or *Fussio* of His Multitude, abrogated at once; and thereby broke down the Bulwarks of the Republic, warped the Constitution, and trampled upon Law and Religion together: But as the *censorial* Power hung still a Terror over their Heads, he added another *Decree of the People*, (that is, of his Mob of *Mercenaries* and *Slaves*) 'That
' it should not be lawful for the Censors to eject
' any *Senator* out of the Senate, or put a Mark
' of Ignominy upon any *Roman Knight*, unless
' such Senator or Knight had been first accused
' before the *People*, and was condemned by the
' Judgment of both the Censors.' These Wounds were given to the State under the Eye of a strange Pair of Consuls, *C. Gabinius*, a Creature of *Pompey's*, and *L. Piso*, Father in Law to *Cæsar*; who

* *Leges — quæ sæpenumero tribunitios furores represserunt.*

M. T. Cicero in Vatin.

* *Lex (Clodii) quæ omnia jura Religionum, Auspiorum, Potestatum; omnes leges quæ sunt de jure & de tempore Legum rogandarum unâ Rogatione delevit.*

M. T. Cicero. Orat. pro P. Sextio.

* *Ne quem Censores in Senatu legendo præterirent, neve ignominia afficerent, nisi apud Pop. accusatus atque utriusque Censoris judicio condemnatus esset.*

M. T. Cicero in Pison.

having thus set the Laws at nought, and insulted their greatest Friends, bethought himself of still a *shorter Way* of getting rid of all these troublesome Patriots at one Blow. For this Purpose, by immense Offers, he persuaded one *Vettius* an Informer, who had given Evidence against himself in the *Catiline-Plot*, and had smarted severely for it, to make amends now, and swear that the Chiefs of the Senate had been tampering with him to assassinate Pompey The Great: He had him accordingly produced in the *Rostra*, and examined before the whole People; where this well-instructed Puppet having, according to Bargain, named several *Patricians* of the first Rank², there arose so violent a Suspicion of Treachery, and such a Clamor, that *Vettius* was hurled to Prison, where it was thought his new Patron, despairing of Success to the Plot, took care to have him poisoned³, or strangled by *Vatinius*⁴, that he might not give true Evidence of Subornation. It was thus *Seditions, Conspiracies, Murders, Perjuries, Poisonings*, when they could serve his Purposes, passed for nothing with Julius Cæsar.

When by such means as these, the greatest and best Men were either sent away, or driven from

² M. Bibulus, L. Lucullus, C. Curio, Father and Son, L. Domitius, M. T. Cicero, &c.

³ Intercepisse veneno indicem.

C. Sueton. in Cæsar.

⁴ Fregerisne in carcere cervices ipsi illi Vettio.

M. T. Cicero. Orat. in Vatin.

the public Assemblies, and the *Forum* filled with Disorder and Violence⁵, the grand Attack was next to be made upon the *Constitution*⁶, and the Way paved for future Thralldom. It had been foreseen, and even foretold: for, when *Cæsar*, contrary to the Sense of all good Men, was forcing the Law for dividing the Patrimony of the Republic among the Populace, *Cato*, as if inspired, said openly, *That Dissipation of the Property of the Common-wealth, however detrimental, was less pernicious than the Requitall which Cæsar would ask of the People*⁷.

From the beginning of the Republic, it had been its Happiness, and the chief Cause of its amazing Growth, that the *Provinces* were under the immediate Direction of the *Roman Senate*. In particular it was its Privilege to allot the *Consular Provinces*, to chuse the General, frame his Instructions, and give Orders to the Treasury to issue the Sum necessary for the current Year. This fundamental Part of the Constitution now fell a Sacrifice to the *lawless Consul*; and to heighten the Indignity of it, by the Hands of the most *impudent of his Tools*, *Vatinus*, the same who was thought to have strangled the *Plot-sweaver* in Pri-

⁵ Βίβλος δ' συνάρχων τῷ Καίσαρι — πολλάκις ἐκινδύνευεν μετὰ Κατωνος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀποθανεῖν.

Πλετάρχ. Καισαρ.

⁶ Impetus fit in *vacuam* Remp.

Cato apud Sallust.

⁷ Φοβεῖσθαι — ἔ τὴν νομὴν τῆς χώρας, ἀλλ' ὃν ἀντὶ ταύτης ἀπαι-
τῆσαι Μισθόν.

ὁ αὐτ. Κατων.

son. This trusty Person preferred a Rogation, that is, proposed an Ordinance to the People to *deprive the Senate of the Power of disposing of the Consular Provinces, and by their own Authority to decern the Cisalpine Gaul, with the Addition of Illyricum, and an Army of eighteen thousand Romans for five Years to Julius Cæsar.* Here at last the Poison, long latent in the Bosom of the *Roman Constitution*, appeared in all its Virulence. The *Democracy* prevailed; the worst and wildest Part of the State, with an ambitious wicked Man to prompt them, over-bore the best; and put a Sword into his Hand to cut their own Throats. The Province picked out by the designing *Cæsar* had three Properties: it was one of the *richest* of the Empire, abounding particularly with Gold: it was full of a hardy warlike People, and had therefore a standing Army annexed to it; and lastly, it was the nearest to *Italy*, and the Seat of Dominion*. But as these Qualities could not content the new Governor, he coveted likewise the adjacent Province of the *farther Gaul*°, as not so thoroughly pacified, surrounded with unconquered People, and therefore affording more materials for training his Legions to fighting, and feeding them with Plunder. This he would likewise have sought

* Ego Provinciam Galliam, Senatus auctoritate, exercitu & pecuniâ instructam & ornatam — in concione deposui, reclamante Pop. Rom.

M. T. Cicero. Orat. in Pison.

° Gallia transalpina, seu comata.

and obtained in the same illegal Way, had not the Senate, to prevent the establishing such an Encroachment upon their Power as a *Precedent*, thought proper to prevent his Petition; and contrary to Cato's Opinion¹ who said, *They were themselves putting the Tyrant in Possession of the Citadel*², decreed him likewise the farther Gaul for the same Term of Years.

Sudden Passions are apt to reveal Secrets, and especially a Flow of Joy lays open the Temper, and unveils the Heart. *Cæsar*, though a Master of Diffimulation³, could not contain himself upon being invested with this great Command; but in a full Senate, took the Liberty to tell the Fathers, 'That having now, to the Confusion of his Enemies, obtained his utmost Wish, he would from that Day forward trample them all under his Feet'. Such was his Turn to Insult and Violence! Nor did he fail in his Endeavours to make good his Words.

For, having by the Influence of the *unhappy Triumvirate* obtained a Prolongation of his Command for other five Years, he employed the *ten* in modelling, and exercising an Army by War after War, not *for*, but *against* the Common-wealth

¹ Προλέγοντι Καίων, ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν τὸν Τυραννὸν αὐτοὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ψήφοις ἰδρύουσιν.

Πλατάρχ. Καίων.

² Δεινὸς δ' ὦν ὁ Καίσαρ ὑποκρίνεσθαι.

Αππ. Εμφ. βιβ. β.

³ Invitis & gementibus Adversariis, adeptum se quæ concupisset; proinde ex eo omnium capitibus insultaturum.

C. Sueton. Julius.

that gave it him. At first he acted with some retention: especially while the *Swiss*, *Piedmontese*, and *Germans* employed him in securing his own *Province*: But after the Renewal of his Command for the last five Years, throwing off all Restraint, and contemning the Law of Nations, he abstained from no War however unjust, nor spared any State, either in confederacy or at variance with *Rome*, where there was a Prospect of Profit and Plunder. This Injustice and Cruelty rose to such a pitch, that the Senate passed an Act to send Commissioners to inquire into the State of the *nearest and farther Gauls*; and there were some Senators who gave it as their Opinion, ‘*That Julius Cæsar should be delivered up to the States, on whom he had unjustly made War, as a common Enemy.*’

The chief Use therefore he made of his Province, was the same that a *Lanista*, or *Master-Gladiator*, makes of his *School*: the Swordsman teaches his Slaves to handle their Weapons, and enures them to Wounds, against the *solemn Day* on which they were to fight in good earnest for their Lives, as a Spectacle to the People; and *Cæsar* trained his Troops to fighting, and enured them to Booty and Bloodshed, against the *grand Contest* should come on between *him* and the *Common-wealth* *. For this terrible Purpose he took these effectual Methods. In picking his Soldiers, he valued neither Family, Fortune, nor Manners; but chose them

* Σὺ δὲ τὰς Γερμανὰς καὶ Γαλάτας κατεπολέμησας ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν σεαυτῷ παρασκευαζόμενον ἔτι γένοιτ’ ἂν χεῖρον, ἢ μιαιφαίτερον.

Ισλιαν. Καίσαρ.

solely for their *bodily Strength*; and composed a motly Army of *Gauls* and *Germans*, mingled with the Refuse of *Rome*. As for his Officers, he wished the superior ones to be *Sons of the best Families*, if at the same time they were *indigent*, *debauched* and *daring*; but for the Subalterns, the *Tribunes*, and especially the *Centurions*; (the Nerves of the Legions) he would have none but the most sturdy hardened Cut-throats that could be found. In *these* he delighted; *these* he caressed and cherished, and of *these* he boasted as his Strength and Pride.

The next *Use* he made of his Command, was instead of a disinterested Administration, to amass *Treasure* in order to *bribe*. This he did by *plundering* the richest Temples of his Province, where the Piety of Ages had accumulated *Gifts* to the Gods, and by rasing and pillaging Cities for no Trespas but their Wealth. In his first Consulship, when public Guardian of the Effects of the State, both sacred and civil, seeing an useless Mass of Gold consecrated in the Capitol, he thought proper to steal three thousand Pound Weight of it, and lay down as much gilt Brass in its stead. The Man who could do this in Rome, under the Eye of the *Senate*, what would he stick at in *Gaul* at the Head of a rapacious Army? He pillaged to such Purpose as not only to extinguish his own enormous Debt, but so glutted *Italy* and the Provinces with *Temple-gold*, as to exchange a Pound Weight of that Metal for nine Pound Weight of Silver Coin, whereas formerly the Exchange between Gold and Silver was at twelve and a half; a Fall that is amazing and almost

incredible. Yet it must have been so; for not contented with plundering, he took every Method of making Money: He *sold* the Roman *Alliance*, and even *Crowns* and *Kingdoms* to the highest Bidders; as a Specimen of which, he extorted from the unhappy Ptolomy alone, the ejected King of *Egypt*, in his *own* and *Pompey's* Name, near *six thousand Talents*, a Sum amounting to a Million and a half of our Money⁵. Afterwards, when he came, in his natural Progression, to rise in open Rebellion against his Country, the most notorious Rapine and avowed Sacrilege were the Funds, out of which he defrayed the Expence of the Mercenaries and the Ostentation of his Triumphs.

If any one is surprised, how it was possible for a Man of ruined Fortune and profligate Manners to raise himself thus, and soar above so many *great Romans*, his Contemporaries, let them first recollect the fatal *Coalition*, the unhappy *Triumvirate*, on whose Shoulders the worst of the *three* was advanced to an Equality with the best; and by whose Influence, the *greatest* Men in Rome were bewitched and deceived⁶, and the *worthiest* not believed⁷. Join to this the *Character* of the restless *Cæsar*, and the *Conjuncture* of the Times, or *Field* he had to display

⁵ If C. Suetonius, a Writer of great Veracity and Judgment, mean the ordinary *Attic* Talent, the Sum will be *L. 1,150,000 sterl.* But if he mean the *Egyptian* Money, it will be *L. 1,548,000 sterl.*

⁶ Pompey, Crassus.

⁷ Catulus, Cotta, Marcellus, Cato.

it. He had a most consummate Capacity in every kind of Business, but especially in War. This was supported by a Keeness of Temper, and Intensity of Application almost inconceivable, and smoothed over by the most artful Diffimulation and seeming Affability that ever adorned the Manners of a great Man. He had all his Passions at command, — except that one which domineered in chief, Ambition; to which he *constantly sacrificed* all the rest, except a little extraordinary homage that was now and then extorted from him by intruding Love*. But Ambition, lawless Ambition, was the supreme Idol: no Consideration in public, no Relation in private Life, but stooped to *this*. For *this* he married, for *this* he gave in Marriage; and for *this* he divorced. For *this* he kept or violated his Faith, cultivated or broke up Friendships, was merciful or hard-hearted; and in short, to *this* he directed every Step of his Conduct, and to *this* every other Interest fell a Sacrifice.

These extraordinary Talents met with the *proper Scene* whereon to display themselves, and exert their utmost Influence. The City Rome was then Mistress of the Western World: her Commands were Kingdoms, and Places of Trust implied a

* Πλανώμενον δὲ πολλὰ, καὶ περιρέχοντα τὸν Καίσαρα, κατελεήσας ὁ μέγας Ἀρης, ἥ τε Ἀφροδίτη παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἐκαλεσάτην.

Ἰηλιαν. Καίσαρες.

* Εἰσῆει πρῶτον Ἰηλιος Καίσαρ ὑπὸ φιλοψυχίας αὐτῷ βελομένῳ ἱρίσας τῷ Διὶ περὶ τῆς μοναρχίας.

Ἰηλιαν. αὐτοῦ.

Jurisdiction over the Lives and Properties of Nations. It was not an absolute Empire, governed like the Eastern Monarchies by the Caprice of a single Sovereign; but a Free State, where every Man said and did what he pleased within the Verge of Law, and made the best of his Talents, Friends and Interest for raising himself, and supporting his Party. Its Manners were now arrived at the proper Temperature, *to give Handles* of all kinds to an artful insinuating Man to acquire Dependencies. Had *Cæsar* been born two hundred years sooner, with the same aspiring restless Turn, he had probably made the same Exit with *Sp. Cassius* or *M. Manlius*, and been hurled headlong with his towering Designs from the Top of the *Tarpeian Rock*. His Thefts and Rapine would have made him odious; and his Largeesses made in consequence of them would have been held in contempt by the great and glorious Men, who could hold their own Plough the day they were created *Dictator*, or sup upon boiled Turneps, when they commanded a *victorious Army*. There were no enormous Debts then among the Citizens to be discharged, — no Estate run out by a spendthrift Heir to be redeemed; nor criminal expensive Passions to be indulged.

The Present of a *fine Villa* (had there been any such) would have been held cheap by the Inhabitants of a *thatched City*, and even the helping one to a *fine Woman*, had it been practicable, would have procured more infamy than favor in a State

where a *Divorce*, though easy, had not happened for *five hundred years*.

But now, as there was no extravagant Passion or Pleasure but was indulged in *Rome*, so there was not one but led its hundreds and its thousands, and tied them fast to the Man who could best afford the Means of its Gratification. The young profuse Patricians, the prodigal and luxurious old, the turbulent Tribunes, the rapacious Veterans, and mercenary Herd of the People, were all at the Devotion of a Leader, who sought *Commands* for no other purpose but *to plunder the Public*, and plundered for no other end but *to lavish it upon them* that they might renew or prolong his Commission.

Thus Julius Cæsar grew great: by collecting all the vicious and indigent into a Body, and encouraging his Creatures in Riot and Violence¹: By this means the Manners of the Romans went from evil to worse, and a corrupt Faction enabled him first to overturn their Civil Constitution. It was then the Bulwarks of the Republic were broken down, — the *Elia*, and *Fufian Laws* repealed, the Checks of the *Augurs* removed, the *Tribunian* Fury let loose in the *Forum*, and (which was the mortal Stab) the Authority of the *Fathers* set at nought, their Jurisdiction over the *Provinces*

¹ Habebat hoc omnino Cæsar; quem planè perditio ære alieno egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognorat, hunc in familiaritatem libentissimè recipiebat.

wrested from them, the *Roman Knights* deluded into a Separation from the *Senate*, while the worthless Multitude ruled the greatest Affairs of the Empire. By *their* Authority, not the *Senate's*, Cæsar had held the Government of *Gaul* for ten Years. The Time was expired, and the Term come when he ought to have dismissed his Army, and returned a triumphal Senator to *Rome*. But this was too humble a State for his Ambition to stoop to: he could not think of becoming one of the *Fabii*, the *Emilii*, the *Marcelli* or *Scipios*, these Princes of the Senate and Patriots of *Rome*: he could not resolve to disband his Army, as the *Great Pompey* had often done, and trust himself to the Laws of his Country. Wherefore taking the Pretence of the *Intercession* of some of the Tribunes in his Favor, being rejected, he determined to disobey the Act of the Senate recalling him from his Government, and rise in Rebellion against his native Country. He marched suddenly at the head of his Gallic-Legions towards *Rome*, passed his Boundary the *Rubicon*, and overwhelmed the Italian Provinces like an Inundation. Pompey for Power, and Cato for Liberty, seconded by the Senate, the *Knights*, (undeceived too late) and all the uncorrupt Part of the People, opposed the Invader: But after a cruel and bloody Struggle of five Years, the plunder-fed Army, which he had been training in *Gaul*, for nine before, got the better of the Laws, and of all the great and good Men who stood by them. Supported by ten veteran Legions, composed of Men of no Principles, insatiate Desires,

Desires, and inured to Blood, Julius Cæsar *dared to point his Sword at his Parent's Throat*. He besieged her Towns, trampled upon her Laws, cut off her Consuls, slew her Pretors, pursued her Senators from city to city, and land to land, until he set his unhallowed foot on the Neck of Freedom, and laid Rome's Glory in the Dust. In the sanguinary Fields of *Ilerda*, *Segro* and *Dyrrachium*, and the more bloody ones of *Pharsalia*, *Thapsus* and *Munda*, he put upwards of a hundred thousand² Roman Citizens to the Edge of the Sword, and almost extirpated the *Domitii*, the *Metelli*, the *Emilii*, the *Pompeys*, the *Scipios*, the *Catos*, those senatorial Names, the Pride of Rome, and Princes of the Earth. For during the five fatal Years that the unnatural Contest lasted, he ravaged the Roman Provinces, rased their Cities, pillaged their Allies, put the three Parts of the known World in Confusion, and laid every thing open to Rapine, Devastation, and Violence: At the end of which, returning Victor, he usurped the supreme Power, and made them feel the Truth of his memorable saying, *that the Common-wealth was now nothing; but an empty Name without either Form or Substance*: He assumed the Dictatorship for Life; and before he had exercised it many Months, he was killed as a Tyrant in the Senate-house by an united Body of

² Cn. Lentulus, L. Gellius Cens. Lustrum condito, censa sunt Civium capita quadringenta quinquaginta millia.. Cæsar censum egit, quo censa sunt Civium capita centum quinquaginta millia.

T. Livii Epitom. Lib. XCVIII. & CXV.

Patriots, with the most virtuous Men in Rome at their Head.

After such a Shock as the *Roman* Constitution, long undermined by Luxury, had received by a violent Usurpation, and by the severe Remedy applied for its Recovery, the State could scarcely avoid falling into new Disorders; in which as *Cæsar's* grand Nephew *C. Octavius*, better known by the Name of Augustus, bore a principal Part, we must now change our Style, and enter into a greater Detail in the subsequent Part of the *Memoirs*.

HITHERTO, *Sir*, I have endeavoured to lay open the admirable Composition of the Roman Republic; and in some measure to *account* for Rome's raising her Head among all her Rivals, foiling the greatest Kings, and humbling mighty contending States until she became possessed of the fairest Provinces in *Asia* and *Africa*; and of almost all Europe. To sum up the account in a Sentence, it was a mighty *Conjuncture*, that produced the Mistress of Nations, *ancient Rome*; it was the united Effort of various concurring Causes, that led her first from *Confusion* to *Order*, then from *Slavery* to *Freedom*, afterwards through *Poverty* opened her way to *Virtue*, and thence conducted her to *Conquest* and *Empire*. These Steps are so strictly connected in the Nature of things, that we may

venture to prophesy, that ‘ until *A City*, seated
‘ in such a *Soil* and *Climate*, founded at such a
‘ *Period*, and blest with such a *Constitution* as
‘ *Rome* enjoyed — struggle with *Difficulties*, and
‘ surmount *Dangers*, such as *Rome* struggled with
‘ and surmounted, we can never hope to see the
‘ *Roman Manners* revived, nor consequently ex-
‘ pect the same *Career of Victory* and *Extent of Do-*
‘ *minion.*’

The most delightful View of a great Society is its *rising State*, and is indeed the *bright Side* of human Affairs; but to consider the *Reverse*, though less pleasing may be more profitable: and in our present Prosperity, perhaps the most necessary to Great-Britain: as the View of a Friend's Face, made *ghastly* through Intemperance, is the most effectual Caution against the like Debauchery. For with equal Certainty we may affirm, ‘ *That as soon as*
‘ *that conquering People become avaricious, oppres-*
‘ *sive, flagitious and unjust, they are then on the*
‘ *Brink of Slavery, and hastening to their Dissolu-*
‘ *tion.*’ I have therefore attentively traced both the remote and immediate Causes of the *Roman Degeneracy*, and deduced their gradual Operation, until they accomplished the Ruin of the *Common-wealth*. They were chiefly *two*, of different natures, but tending to the same Point: the first was the *original Flaw* in the Constitution of their Government, where the *last Resort of Power*, both *legislative* and *executive*, was vague and desultory; which enabled the seditious *Tribunes* to introduce

the wild *Democracy* ; the second was the irreparable³ *Loss of their Morals*. When these came to co-operate, they introduced that avowed Corruption and Effrontery in Vice which forged the several Links of the Chain, that wanted but a designing Head and artful Hand to join them together, and fix it upon the Neck of the Republic.

Against the *first* of these, it must give joy to every true Briton to think, that we are happily secure by our *admirable Constitution*; which must be openly overturned before we can either fall under absolute *Monarchy*, or popular *Anarchy*; for the Sway of the Multitude⁴ is little better. But who will insure a rich and flourishing Nation against the fatal Influences of the *last*? — I hope two singular Circumstances in our Case, wholly different from that of *ancient Rome*, will contribute to save us from that Destroyer of States, Families and Individuals, *Immorality*. The first is our *Situation* with respect to the *other Powers of Europe*; which necessarily requires *Vigilance* and *Vigor*, and absolutely forbids our giving ourselves up to the same *Supineness* and *Riot* that enervated Rome after the Demolition of her Rival⁵: and next, the Support given to *Religion*, and if I may so term it, the Public-Leading taking in *Probity* and *Virtue*. While

³ *Nec vera Virtus, quam semel excidit,
Curat reponi deterioribus.*

Horat.

⁴ Ὁρείον Πολυκέφαλον.

⁵ Carthage.

these are not only recommended from the highest Authority in the Nation, and on the most solemn occasions *, but likewise enforced by the greatest Examples, — while Men of Worth and Honor are intrusted with the several Branches of the Administration, *Magnificence* and *Wealth* will be *Servants* to Virtue and the Public-good: for though the Passage be swift and slippery, there is no necessary unavoidable Connexion between *Riches* and *Vice*, or between *Grandeur* and *Immorality*. In the hands of the *truly good*, Power and Wealth become the happy Instruments of rewarding Worth, and raising Merit; of relieving undeserved Distress, of diffusing Felicity at present, and leaving Monuments of public Spirit for Ages to come. Give me leave, Sir, to dwell a little upon the pleasing Thought, of the *Continuance of the Liberty and Prosperity of our Country*, in which you can claim so great a Share, and in whose Service you bear so eminent a Part. Your early Introduction into Affairs, — the happy Talents you possess, which I will oblige you (*it is the only way I can*) by not enumerating, — the Steadiness with which, amidst domestic Factions and foreign Broils, you have pursued the *true Interests* of Britain, and your inviolate Regard to her *Constitution*, as they must qualify you to judge of the Plan of a *similar Government*, so they entitle you to the most public Gratitude.

* See the Series of his Majesty's Speeches from the Throne to the Parliament, and especially in November 1751.

With great Reason did an accomplished Gentleman and elegant Writer⁷ in the Court of Augustus, complain, that his Contemporaries, swallowed up in Admiration of Antiquity, did little Justice to the Living: With equal Reason may We complain, that a Solon, for example should be celebrated for enacting the *Σεισάχθεια*, or Relief of *Athenian* Debt. — That Aratus should be applauded, for satisfying the clashing Claims of a small City, *Sicyon*. — That Cicero is admired for relieving from accumulated Interests, a few of the *Asiatic-Towns*. — Just indeed, and well-grounded is the Praise bestowed upon their Conduct and Humanity: But can we frankly acquiesce in this Acknowledgment, and yet see in our own Times a promising Step taken towards redressing the Affairs of a *great and powerful People*, (the happiest, if they knew it, that inhabit the Earth) a Step led with *Mastery*, and conducted with *Spirit*, without a grateful Resentment?

It seldom indeed happens that *Eminence* is exempted from *Envy*, which follows it almost as naturally as a Shadow does the Body: But superior Merit, and genuine Worth, like a thriving Tree, never fail in the end to choke the Brambles that infest their Roots; and in the same manner, *Truth* preserved in Promises, *Candor* in Contests, *Moderation* in Power, and *Mildness* under unmerited Opposition, will ever distinguish Mr. *Pelham's* private Character? — As *Faith* in treaties, *Firmness* in Dangers, a sacred Regard to the *Laws*, and the ever memorable Service done to Britain, the alle-

⁷ Horatii Ep. I. Lib. II.

viating the Load of her Debts, by lowering the Interest, and at the same time raising her Credit, will be the permanent Honors of his Administration.

There is something truly noble in *private* Beneficence: But *public Services* are of a still more exalted Nature; not only as they include the Happiness of Millions, but as they must be frequently done, like the divine Favors, to the *evil and unthankful*. *It is a Kingly thing*, said once a great Prince, *to do good and be ill spoken of*; and it is a Destiny so inseparable from eminent Men in a *free State*, that, like Pericles, (a real Patriot) they should be suspicious of the Acclamations of the giddy Multitude. By this means Medicine may be extracted from the Poison of virulent Pens, and their Obloquy turned into a Panegyric on the Laws and Ministry; Foreigners bred in the Subordination of Slavery are shocked at the *sturdy Demeanour* of the *British Vulgar*, which they call *Rudeness* and *Brutality*; and the lowest Tool of State abroad, is amazed at the Licentiousness he observes here, in speaking and writing against our Betters*. That this is frequently done from the worst and meanest Motives, is past all doubt: But at the same time, though a Blemish in a beautiful Body, it is a sure Mark both of *political Liberty*, and of the *greatest Lenity* in the Government.

Such, in effect, is the Order of Things, and such the chequered Condition of all human Affairs,

* *Minutes of Monsr. Menager's Negotiations at the Court of England, Pag. 87—91.*

Weeds spring rankest in the richest Soils, and the same prolific Clime produces the powerful Drug and deadly Poison.—Neither is *inestimable* Liberty, or any other Blessing, given quite pure to Men, except that divine one of *doing Good*: *there* alone is Joy unmixed, and *there* is Pleasure without alloy. Happy the Man, and thrice happy the great Minister, who takes this for his Aim, in the Exercise of his Power, in the Employment of his Talents, and Influence of his Example! — Who directs his first Care to the Preservation of Liberty, the prime of the Gifts of Heaven,—next in devising *salutary Laws*, such as have been yearly adding to the *British Acts* for a considerable Tract of Years; and lastly, in promoting Industry, the Strength of a Nation, and suppressing Idleness, the Source of Misery.

The happy effects of the Laws lately made for these valuable Purposes, are visible over all *Britain*, in the Spirit of Improvement, which they have excited, in Trade, Agriculture and Manufactures, and which they support by *Premiums* and great Encouragement: but one of them, I am apt to think is *peculiar* to our Country, which reflects great Honor on its Advisers, and calls upon me to select it, as its Influence is chiefly visible in the North-End of our Island. It is the beneficent Act, that has set a great Body of Men, formerly slaves, *free against their Will*, by relieving them from a heavy *Vassalage*, exempting them from *inferior Jurisdictions*, and putting them under the *immediate Protection* of the Laws. In other Countries, it is
too

too often the Study of their Governors, how to strip the Subjects of the few Privileges left them by preceding Princes: In *ours*, it is their Pleasure to set the enslaved *free*, to diffuse Independency; and, as if the *Proffer* of such Happiness were not enough, to allure the *ignorant* and *seduced*, by the *gentlest* of all Methods, *Benefits* and easily obtained *Rewards* (provided in a subsequent Act⁹) to accept of the national Blessing. A Strain of *the truest Wisdom* and *Humanity*.

To whom therefore could a Draught of the *Roman Empire* (a State founded on Freedom) be so fitly addressed, and to whose Judgment could a Comparison of its *Constitution* with *our own* be so properly submitted, as to the Man who has the genuine Honor of leading in the Councils of such a Nation as *Great Britain*? Let me not ill deserve his Goodness in reviewing the Draught, by concealing such Condescension, or suppressing the Pride justly inspired by Mr. Pelham's Approbation. Encouraged by these, *Sir*! I proceed to give the History of a Court, which, by turning from a Course of Violence and Oppression to the *Maxims* you pursue, and to the *Moderation* you practise, became beneficent and humane; and, if not strictly virtuous in private Life, at least decent in public, and eminent in *Politeness* and *Learning*.

To this *last*, indeed, it chiefly owes its shining Character: The *Prince* himself, and the Greatest in the Empire setting an Example in their own

⁹ A Bill for annexing certain *forfeited Estates*, &c.

Writings, and vying with one another in patronizing the Men of Learning and Genius; who in return, retrieved him from Vice and Misery in the Flower of his Life, and have rendered him immortal to Posterity: Neither will it, I hope, Sir, be remembered to your dishonor, 'that amidst a
' Prostitution of empty Praise, *You* chose to patronize a Pen untaught to flatter, devoted to
' Virtue, and to her best Friends, to *Liberty* and to
' *Learning*: whilst it is my peculiar Happiness to
' have been favored by a great and good Man,
' whom I can equally revere in a public, as love
' in a private Capacity, and bless myself in the
' happy Conjunction of *Britain's Friend* and my
' own Benefactor.'

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





Blackwell, Thomas,

Memoirs of the court of Augustus

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Basil (1794)

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